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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

REFUGEES FROM HUNGARY

WITHIN THE

TURKISH DOMINIONS.

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Further Correspondence respecting Refugees from Hungary within the Turkish Dominions.

No. 1.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 137.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 4, 1850.*

I HAVE had some further communications with the Turkish Ministers on the subject of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia.

Letters addressed to me by Count Batthyani and M. Kossuth complain of the unnecessary inconveniences and restraints to which they have had to submit since their arrival at that place, which they describe as desolate and unhealthy.

I have also received from M. Kossuth a long memorial, or protest, complaining of his detention in the Sultan's dominions, on principles deduced from the Law of Nations, and the Porte's arbitrary conduct towards him and his companions in misfortune, beyond the extent of her engagements towards Austria.

Without entering into the question of how far these grounds of complaint are valid, I have made them known in full to the Grand Vizier, and recommended strongly that while the detention continues, the Porte should allow their involuntary guests every degree of comfort and liberty consistent with a state, not of imprisonment, but of simple surveillance.

His Highness has not consented to place them on a footing with the Wallachian emigrants at Brussa, pleading the necessity of fulfilling the Porte's engagement, understood to be binding on her, though not formally accepted by the Cabinet of Vienna; but he has issued fresh orders to Suleiman Bey, the superintendent of the refugees, directing him to meet their wishes and to consult their convenience in every reasonable manner. A copy of the Grand Vizier's letter is inclosed herewith, and I propose to forward another copy of it to Kutahia by the earliest opportunity, conceiving that as the refugees have expressed a favourable opinion of Suleiman Bey, the possession of the letter will enable them to appeal to his sense of duty, as well as to his good feelings in their favour. I think it must be admitted that if the injunctions of the letter be fairly carried into effect, the refugees will have nothing to complain of beyond the detention and the locality.

I fear it is not possible for me to hold out any immediate prospect of a change in either of these respects. In justice to the Porte, however, it must be observed that the town of Kutahia, in point of building and situation, according to those who have travelled in Asia Minor, is not worse than other Turkish towns in the same country. With respect to the time of liberation, I am free to say that the refugees having satisfied their natural sense of duty, in protesting against the restraints on their liberty, would act most advisedly if they were to await with patience the close of the approaching summer, and then avail themselves of any favourable circumstances in the political aspect of affairs to solicit their

liberation. I should hope that if the present appearances of tranquillity be maintained in Hungary and Transylvania, Her Majesty's Government and perhaps the Government of France would not then object to support their claim and to recommend it warmly to favourable consideration.

There is reason to believe that the United States of America are still disposed to receive them and to place a grant of land at their disposal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Substance of a Letter from the Grand Vizier to Suleiman Bey, on service at Kutahia.

(Translation.) 16 *Djemazi-ul-Akhir*, 1266. (*April* 30, 1850.)

ACCORDING to fresh accounts received, the rooms which have been chosen for the refugees under your care are exceedingly small, and some of the Generals are obliged to lodge together in a single room. For this, and for some other reasons, they are very much annoyed and uncomfortable. You will therefore, without contravening the necessary measures of surveillance, endeavour as much as you can to afford them more comfort; and this might be done by hiring for the chiefs, as you did for Count Batthyani, some convenient houses to accommodate them; by treating them with regard to their table just in the way they like; by adding some more rooms to the apartment of M. Kossuth, should some of them leave the barracks; and by building a kitchen in a suitable place for the private use of M. Kossuth; and finally, by allowing them some more latitude in their walks, observing in the meantime the necessary precautions; endeavouring however as much as possible to prevent their being aware of it. All the above-stated measures will of course put them at ease. You are therefore to take into due consideration, according to your well-known judgment, all that is said above, and act in consequence without further delay.

Should any furniture and other necessary conveniences require to be sent from hence, you are requested to let us know immediately. You will at the same time watch them in a proper manner.

It has been again reported of late, that some Croats, disguised in such a manner as not to be recognized, left, or are about to go, to Kutahia, with very bad intentions against the refugees, and therefore you must be excessively attentive to what is going about.

(Signed) MUSTAFA RESHID.

No. 2.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 159.)

Foreign Office, May 31, 1850.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 137, of the 4th instant, respecting the condition of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia; and I have to state to your Excellency, that Her Majesty's Government approve the representations which you have made to the Porte in their favour; and I have to instruct you to continue to press on the Turkish Ministers, that as the Turkish Government has undertaken to restrain the liberty of these exiles, and to compel them to remain for a certain time in the Turkish territory, they are bound, in regard to the honour of the Sultan, to take care of the personal safety of these exiles, and to afford them every accommodation and comfort consistent with the enforcement of detention.

It seems also that if the climate of Kutahia is really unhealthy, some other place ought to be chosen for the residence of these persons.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 3.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 192.)

Foreign Office, July 13, 1850.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a memorial dated the 18th of April, which has been addressed to me by M. Kossuth and other Hungarian refugees detained at Kutahia, respecting the period at which they may hope to be set at liberty; and I have to instruct your Excellency to inquire of the Turkish Government when the year at the end of which these refugees are to be released will expire; and whether the Turkish Government intends at that time to avail itself of the offer made by the Government of the United States to receive these persons and to give them lands in America?

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 3.

M. Kossuth and others to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord, *Kutahia, April* 18, 1850.

ACCUSTOMED as the world is to see your Lordship as the stoutest friend of public liberty and the uncompromising defender of national rights against the encroachment of barbarous despotism and violence, we, Undersigned, have not been surprised, but most heartily cheered, on reading the speech you held on the occasion of our unfortunate country's cause being brought forward in Her Majesty's Parliament.

Thankful as we are to the noble and high-minded English Nation for the impulse that provoked it, we wish she may ever be led by statesmen who profess such noble and elevated sentiments as those by which you gave the assurance to the public, that the unjust and iniquitous treatment to which we have been exposed should not be of any long duration.

Welcome as this news is to us, as far as our own persons are concerned, still more grateful do we feel for the sentiments and views displayed on the fate of our country, and the settlement of the Refugee question, which alone give us the hope of personal security to ourselves and future relief to our unhappy countrymen.

Your Lordship has declared that you were not satisfied yourself with the settlement of yonder question, but that it could not be helped, because His Majesty the Sultan himself had made the offer of the *internement* spontaneously, and could not break his word.

It is on this principle also, that the *internement* of the Undersigned has actually been effectuated, and that our representations to the Sublime Porte, in which we strongly protested against this breach of international law and good faith towards us, [by which] we have been received and detained as His Majesty the Sultan's guests, remaining unnoticed, we were carried to the place destined for our *internement*, and are kept here not only much more strictly than the Sublime Porte's own subjects, for example, who are internated at Brussa, and who enjoy every degree of liberty, but we are kept under such surveillance as fully amounts to a state of captivity and is by no means implied in the general idea of an *internement*.

Your Lordship's feelings of justice and humanity will tell you by themselves that such a state of captivity is a breach of international and individual rights; a wrong not only inflicted upon us, but upon all those who should ever find themselves in the similar situation of being the victims of brute force and despotism; that it throws disgrace upon the Sublime Porte, who by this act loses all the merit and glory she gathered by her original behaviour towards us, and who in acting our gaoler against her own conviction merely to comply to the threats of some overweening Powers, incurs not only the blame of weakness, but actually loses her position as an independent Power; that public opinion

finally which has so strongly interested itself in our cause will never be appeased till the pledge which your Lordship has given be finally redeemed.

Yet it appears to us that now that the Sublime Porte has fulfilled the word of His Majesty the Sultan, it is fully in her power to put a term to our sufferings and to the disgraceful part which she has involuntarily been betrayed into assuming; and Austria herself has afforded her the means to this purpose.

For when the Sublime Porte wished to fix some conditions, and the term of our detention for one year in a note addressed to the Austrian Government, this latter did not even vouchsafe a reply for the space of nearly three months, by which contemptuous behaviour it not only deeply hurt the Sublime Porte, but gave it full right to recede even from the engagements which she has taken.

But much greater still is the right of the Sublime Porte to put a term to any proceedings to which, she having already fulfilled her part of the engagement, no acknowledgment has been shown on the other part; and moreover, she, the Sublime Porte herself, having been implicated into an act which she herself does not consider as a lawful one, which she knows to be degrading to herself, against her own interest, and contrived to make her lose the good opinion and sympathy of the civilized world; an act which she committed merely to show her good faith in keeping her promises, but even then only conditionally and for a certain space of time, and which act would at all events be unilateral and unprecedented, in so far as there is no example in history that one contracting party has thought itself obliged to fulfil its engagements to the infinite and without limits, while the other has not accepted the conditions under which they were assumed, or has eventually even rejected them with sullen contempt.

It is true that we have been informed that since and only of late, the Austrian Minister at Stamboul, on resuming his relations with the Porte, gave a tardive answer to her propositions. But this does not change the state of the question, nor take away the slight conferred by the long and obdurate silence of Austria.

And were it even so, we are apprized that Austria expresses her acquiescence to the conditions, and leaves the point of the duration of our deportment wholly to be settled by, and according to, the judgment and will of the Porte.

Nothing therefore stands in the way of the Sublime Porte why, having already fulfilled her engagement, and detained us ever since these last eight months in her dominions, and finally brought us to the place which had been fixed upon, should not resume her own independence and dignity, throw away the thraldom under which she suffers herself, and give the matter such a final settlement as your Lordship yourself has declared you would have desired, by either setting us free at once, and giving us full liberty to go wherever we like, on irrevocably fixing at least some close term for our deliverance; or accepting the offer made by the Government of the United States to deliver us up to the latter to be transported to America as guests of the nation of the United States.

But the very circumstance of a possible alliance between Austria and Turkey which may be contemplated, and to which the present acquiescence of Austria may be intended as a premeditation, makes it the more urgent for us that the question of our detainment may be finally settled without the least delay, and through the interference of your Lordship, because otherwise the friendly footing on which the two Powers of Austria and Turkey would be placed, would most probably only serve as an additional pretext for putting off our liberation. The very terms in which His Majesty the Sultan makes this depend from the view which he will take of our country being pacified, and our liberty harmless to Austria, would give most ample space for all sort of protestations on the part of Austria.

These are the humble wishes which we beg to submit to your Lordship's consideration. They are founded upon justice and the international right, which has already been violated in our instance; they are also founded on the unanimous voice of public opinion; they agree with the sentiments expressed by your Lordship, and we have no hope that they will be accomplished but by your Lordship's powerful advice and interference.

They regard our persons in particular, but we further entreat your Lordship's mighty protection for our unfortunate country, which lies prostrate under the vindictive blows of Austrian despotism, but will never be made to forget its former station and former rights. Austria may do what she likes; after all what has been done, United Austria will always be an impotent cypher in the balance of Europe, till she does not find the means either to make Hungary

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forget the wrongs which have been inflicted upon her, or that she succeeds in tearing out the ever-growing sting of despair and exasperation which clings deep to the heart of every Hungarian, and which will never lose its venom till it has deeply plunged into the heart of Austria, or that the latter, which is not less possible, lay prostrate before her Slave subjects, as Hungary lies now before Russo-Austria.

Your Lordship's wisdom, your humanity, your feeling of justice, and the wish finally to re-establish the balance of Europe, so much shaken by the fall of Hungary, make it no doubt a grave matter of your consideration how our unhappy country is to be replaced in her becoming station.

May God Almighty help your Lordship in your endeavours, and keep you long for the guidance of the exterior affairs of the British Empire.

(Signed) L. KOSSUTH.
COUNT CASIMIR BATTHYANI.
ADOLPHE GYURMANN.
ALEXANDRE ARBOTH, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*
LAZAR MESZAROS, *Gral.*
J. VYSOCZKI, *General.*
CONSTANTIN MATCZYNSKI, *Major.*
JULES PRZYJEMSKI, *Colonel.*
STANISLAUS BRIGANTI, *Lieut.*
STANISLAS CHOJECKI.

No. 4.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received August* 17.)

(No. 236.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 5, 1850.

AGREEABLY to your Lordship's instructions I have made inquiry of Aali Pasha as to the Porte's intentions respecting the release of the Hungarian refugees from their present detention at Kutahia, and their proposed conveyance to the United States of America.

The view taken of these questions by the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs is recorded in the accompanying report addressed to me by M. E. Pisani. Though two or three points of his Excellency's statement require to be rectified or explained, I am not unprepared for the general purport of his reply, and I am under an impression that the Porte, however reluctantly as to its own feelings, will not be brought without very considerable difficulty to adopt a just and independent course.

Nothing further can be attempted with any chance of success during the present week, which is devoted to the observances of the Ramazan and Bairam. I propose to return to the subject as soon as the holidays are over, and your Lordship shall be duly informed of the result of my exertions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 4.

M. E. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Pera, August* 3, 1850.

IN obedience to your Excellency's instruction of the 31st ultimo, directing me to inquire when the Porte intended to terminate the detention of Kossuth and his companions at Kutahia, I have the honour to report that I have read the whole of the instruction to Aali Pasha, and his Excellency requested me to say, that according to the Austrians the year of detention of the refugees began from the moment of the exchange of the official notes between the two Governments, and not from the time of the arrival of the refugees in Turkey. That according to the tenour of the said note, the Porte is pledged to take no final

arrangement on their behalf "sans une entente préalable entre les deux Gouvernemens."

The Porte is ready and will be most happy to avail herself of the offer made by the Government of the United States of America to receive the refugees at Kutahia; but previous to her taking such a step she must come to an agreement with the Austrian Government. Aali Pasha will therefore see the Grand Vizier, and urge his Highness to wait upon the Sultan and take His Majesty's pleasure and will on the subject, in order to be enabled to make the necessary representations to the Austrian Representative here, and endeavour to bring the matter to a fair and speedy conclusion. He further requested me to submit to your Excellency's consideration, that the Porte by herself will not be able to succeed without the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government; consequently if you concur in the opinion that a representation to the Austrian Government through Her Majesty's Representative in Vienna will be of any weight in the prompt solution of the question, the Porte will feel obliged for such a mark of friendship on the part of Her Majesty's Government, which Aali Pasha has no doubt is as anxious as the Porte to see those unfortunate refugees at liberty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 5.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

(No. 57.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 27, 1850.

I HAVE to instruct you to represent to the Austrian Government that the Turkish Government is desirous of freeing itself as soon as it can from the responsibility and burthen arising from the detention of the Hungarian refugees now in the Turkish dominions, but that the Porte would wish if possible to do so in accordance with the Austrian Government. But those refugees having now been a full year in Turkey, and tranquillity having been perfectly re-established in Hungary, the time seems to have arrived when the Porte might properly avail itself of the offer made by the Government of the United States to receive those refugees in North America and to provide them with grants of land as settlers in the United States. If the Austrian Government should take the same view of this matter which Her Majesty's Government hopes it will, a communication to that effect to the Turkish Government would no doubt be looked upon by the Sultan as a friendly proceeding on the part of His Imperial Majesty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 6.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 243.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 28, 1850.

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Vienna, in consequence of what is stated in your despatch No. 236 of the 5th instant, and its inclosure, respecting the wishes of the Porte in regard to the Hungarian refugees detained at Kutahia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 7.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

(Separate.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July* 20, 1850.

GENERAL DEMBINSKI has been persuaded to join his colleagues in misfortune at Kutahia. Aali Pasha acquiesced in my opinion that he ought to be allowed a free passage through the Ottoman Dominions, unless the Austrian Government could substantiate without further delay its claim to his allegiance. He confesses, nevertheless, that the General was principally induced by his persuasions to submit.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 8.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 253.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 19, 1850.

THOUGH I have not received any conclusive reply to the inquiries which I addressed to Aali Pasha in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, respecting the time at which the Porte would be prepared to release the Hungarian refugees from their detention at Kutahia, I have the satisfaction to state that the language of the Ottoman Minister is generally favourable to the adoption of an early term.

In explanation of the degree in which his Excellency's language may be so characterized, I have the honour to transmit herewith an extract of M. Pisani's report to me dated the 13th instant.

I also inclose in copy an instruction addressed to that interpreter by me with a view to its being communicated to Aali Pasha and his colleagues. I adopted this mode of seconding your Lordship's wishes with the additional view of recommending to favourable consideration, in a manner not likely to give umbrage, the principal grounds on which the refugees themselves, particularly by means of M. Kossuth, lay claim to an early termination of their present detention.

I have since been informed by a confidential message from Aali Pasha, that the Austrian Government is not disinclined to acquiesce in his views as to the greater proportion of the refugees; but that a strenuous resistance may be expected with regard to M. Kossuth, who is accused by the Austrians, on the very questionable faith of certain intercepted letters, to have continued his revolutionary attempts, notwithstanding the ruin of his cause in Hungary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

M. F. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

13 *Août*, 1850.

AALI PACHA m'a dit que M. Klezl est allé le voir ce matin, et qu'il lui a communiqué une dépêche du Prince Schwarzenberg. Cette dépêche porte que la Cour d'Autriche a appris de Paris et de Londres, que la Porte a l'intention de laisser partir M. Kossuth et ses compagnons à la fin de Septembre, pour qu'ils se rendent à Paris et à Londres; que si cela était vrai, la Porte aurait donné la main à des intrigues que ces réfugiés ne manqueraient pas d'ourdir contre la tranquillité des Etats Autrichiens.

Aali Pacha a dit à M. Klezl, que la Porte, fidèle à ses engagemens, n'a pas pris le parti de laisser partir les réfugiés au mois de Septembre, mais que la

Porte désire beaucoup qu'elle se débarrasse d'un tas de réfugiés qui lui causent tant de dépenses et tant d'embarras, et qui causent une espèce de froideur entre les deux Cours ; que la Porte est convaincue que la tranquillité dans les Etats d'Autriche est si bien établie, qu'il serait [temps] de songer à les laisser partir, et que, par conséquent, il priait M. le Chargé d'Affaires de faire connaître à sa Cour les sentimens de la Porte.

Inclosure 2 in No. 8.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Sir, *Therapia, August* 14, 1850.

THE answer which you report Aali Pasha to have given to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires respecting the liberation of the Hungarian refugees detained at Kutahia encourage me to hope that the Porte, far from opposing the expectations of Her Majesty's Government on that subject, enters fully into the spirit of my counsels thereon, and is only desirous of giving no just cause of complaint to a neighbouring and friendly Court; at the same time that she completes a great act of humanity and justice, the performance of which will relieve her from a heavy weight of obloquy, expense, and embarrassment.

Several months have elapsed since the arrival of the exiles at their present place of detention, and many more since they first took refuge in Turkey, and threw themselves with unhesitating confidence on the Sultan's protection. The lives which they owed to a generous determination have been weighed down and embittered by a succession of privations and annoyances which, though in some degree inseparable perhaps from their condition, are not the less difficult to bear, or painful to inflict. The Porte, far from having any motive of her own, either to punish or to detain them, has much reason to lament the necessity of restricting their freedom even for a short time, and a strong interest to sympathize with Europe in pity for their misfortunes. She cannot also be insensible to the wishes and opinions of those who co-operated with her in rescuing them from an imminent danger. The solemn, the affecting appeal made by the sufferers themselves, after months of submissive resignation, to the best feelings and interests of the Porte, comes powerfully in aid of the preceding considerations, and places in strong relief the numerous evils, whether immediate or contingent, to which the Porte is more and more exposed by the prolonged detention of the refugees, and the increased injustice of a measure which nothing short of imperative necessity could excuse.

In whatever degree that necessity may be thought to have existed at one time, it is no longer borne out by any express obligation towards Austria or any other foreign Power. The tranquillity which followed on the conclusive events of the last campaign in Hungary and Transylvania, instead of being again disturbed, has gathered so much strength with the lapse of time, that the Court of Vienna has avowedly mitigated the rigour of its policy, and manifested its confidence in the stability of order throughout that portion of its empire by a signal and praiseworthy display of clemency. The Porte has therefore nothing whatever to restrain it on this score; and with respect to any previous intimation of assent from Austria, or positive term of detention, the Porte is notoriously free from every engagement but that of apprizing the Austrian Government of its intention to discontinue a restraint no longer justified by necessity, and of thereby affording the Cabinet of Vienna an opportunity of displaying still further its clemency by a seasonable concurrence.

Such being the real state of the case, it is earnestly hoped that the Turkish Government will act with becoming consistency, and that the end of their long struggle in the cause of Ottoman independence, honour, and humanity, will be in keeping with its glorious commencement. For this purpose it would be extremely desirable that a resolution should be at once taken not to wait more than a few weeks. The health and safety of the refugees and their families may be seriously, perhaps even fatally, compromised by the postponement of their liberation beyond the close of September. When the fine season breaks up, a winter's detention at Kutahia, or a long journey over mountainous tracks, bad enough even in summer, will present a disastrous alternative. The

unfortunate exiles may be easily spared this additional vexation and superfluous danger. Their fate is in this respect entirely in the hands of the Turkish Government, and it cannot be doubted that the enlightened directors of the Porte's counsels will nobly, as well as prudently, avoid the responsibility of braving European opinion by an unwarrantable prolongation of their sufferings and its own embarrassments.

You will take the earliest opportunity to read this instruction *verbatim* to Aali Pasha, and you will leave a copy of it, confidentially, in his Excellency's hands, with a view to its being translated into Turkish, and submitted not only to the Grand Vizier and other members of the Cabinet, but also to His Majesty the Sultan himself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 9.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 82.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September* 6, 1850.

I THOUGHT that the best mode of putting Prince Schwarzenberg in possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the desire felt by the Turkish Government to be relieved as soon as it can from the responsibility and expense arising from the detention of the Hungarian refugees now in the Turkish Dominions, was to put into his hands your Lordship's despatch No. 57 of the 27th ultimo on this subject. I accordingly told his Highness in my interview with him yesterday, that I had received an instruction from your Lordship respecting the Hungarian refugees, the nature of which he would fully understand by the perusal of the despatch which I then put into his hands.

His Highness after having read a few lines and perceived the nature of your Lordship's instructions to me, threw the despatch down on the table at which we were sitting, and said, "I will not read this: it relates to a subject on which we will only treat directly with Turkey and which in no respect regards England."

I answered that he must be aware of the weight which the opinion of Great Britain upon any subject was likely to have at Constantinople; that we took an interest in the question at issue as the ally of the Porte, and probably at the request of the Turkish Government; and that as the latter was anxious to come to an understanding in accordance with the Austrian Government, I thought it would be for the advantage of Austria to listen to reason, and I again pressed his Highness to read your Lordship's despatch.

My endeavours having proved unavailing, I read to Prince Schwarzenberg the greater part of your Lordship's despatch; but I only obtained from him the same answer, that the detention of the Hungarian refugees was a question which the Austrian Government would treat directly with the Porte, and respecting which he had nothing to say to Her Majesty's Government.

In reply to my observations before reading to him the despatch, his Highness admitted the influence which the opinion of Great Britain was likely to have with the Turkish Government, but expressed doubts as to the correctness of my surmise that we interested ourselves in this question and had taken this step at the request of the Porte. He rejoined that he had received no communication from the Turkish Government which could induce him to think that my supposition was correct; on the contrary, he thought that it was the sympathy which we had all along shown for the Hungarian refugees which induced us to interfere.

Feeling that nothing I could say was likely to produce any effect upon Prince Schwarzenberg, whose manner had evidently changed since I had introduced this question, and that he stuck to the argument behind which he had intrenched himself, namely, that this was a question which he was not called upon to discuss with Great Britain, I deemed it altogether useless to prolong a discussion which it was evident could lead to no beneficial result and

might increase the angry feelings of his Highness on this subject, and I accordingly took my leave.

I had some conversation with M. Musurus, the Turkish Minister at this Court, on this subject the day before I saw Prince Schwarzenberg. I learnt from M. Musurus, who is about to be removed from his present post and to return to Constantinople, that he has had no communication of late with Prince Schwarzenberg on the subject of the Hungarian refugees. He informed me that whenever he has touched upon that subject with his Highness, he has been most ungraciously received and been met with the reproach of bad faith, &c., and that he had experienced difficulty in obtaining interviews with the Prince for some time afterwards. M. Musurus appeared to me to regret the instructions which I had received, both on account of the influence which they were likely to have on his own position as well as the want of result which was likely to attend them. I told him however that no discretion was left me on this subject, and I must carry out your Lordship's instructions without any regard to the unfavourable impressions which they might produce.

M. Musurus further informed me that Prince Schwarzenberg would not listen to the last offer which the Turkish Government had made, to engage to keep the Hungarian refugees until the end of this year; and I learned from him that the Sultan in the autograph letters which he had addressed to the Emperors of Austria and Russia, during the interruption of diplomatic intercourse on the part of the Missions of those countries at Constantinople, had made promises from which he may now experience difficulty in getting free, as all the influence of those Courts will probably be exerted to bind the Sultan by the terms of his letter.

M. Musurus said that the Sultan in his letter to the Emperor of Russia promised to detain the Hungarian refugees "toujours et continuellement;" and that in that to the Emperor of Austria to keep them in the interior of his dominions ("de les interner") so long as they could by their presence endanger the peace or tranquillity of his States.

I can hardly doubt from Prince Schwarzenberg's tone to me as well as from what M. Musurus tells me, that this Government will use every influence to prevent the liberation of the Hungarian refugees; and I happen to know that Prince Schwarzenberg, upon a late occasion, refused to listen to an application made to him by a sister of Count Casimir Batthyani, who is married to an Austrian nobleman, to allow that gentleman to be removed from Kutahia to, I believe, Brussa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 10.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 248.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1850.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to ascertain from the Turkish Government what has been established by the communications between the Porte and the Austrian Government, as to the nationality of General Dembinski.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 11.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 254.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1850.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 253, of the 19th of August, reporting your communications with the Turkish Government on the subject of the continued detention of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia; and I

have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the able, comprehensive and conclusive statement made by you in the memorandum which you sent to the Porte, and of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch, and which leaves me nothing to add to the considerations stated therein by you as reasons why these refugees should be set free before the bad weather of winter begins.

But the Porte would be lending itself very unworthily to the personal resentments of other parties, if it were to make any distinction between Kossuth and the other Hungarian exiles. It would moreover be paying a bad compliment to the measures taken by the Austrian Government for the restoration of tranquillity in Hungary, to suppose that the alternative of quiet or disturbance in that country could depend upon the detention of one man in Turkey, or his departure from thence to some other country.

It ought moreover to be recollected that adversity has produced in the Hungarian leaders the usual effect of political and military failure, and that great dissensions have arisen among them; so that the influence of Kossuth over the other leaders is far less than the Austrian Government endeavour to represent it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 12.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 87.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September* 11, 1850.

I LEARN from M. Musurus that in an interview which he has had with Prince Schwarzenberg subsequent to my conversation with his Highness relative to the desire of the Porte to be relieved from the responsibility and expense of maintaining the Hungarian refugees now in Turkey, the Prince informed him very exactly of what had passed between us. He inquired from M. Musurus if he had lately received any instructions on this subject, and being answered in the negative, he added that neither had he heard anything from Constantinople.

Prince Schwarzenberg then said that diplomatic relations having been re-established between the two countries, he had regarded it as the expression of a mutual desire to be well together; that order and tranquillity were hardly re-established in Hungary, and that he could not answer for their maintenance; that the Hungarian refugees even if sent to the United States would not remain there but return to Europe; and he requested M. Musurus to inform his Court that he should regard the future conduct of the Porte with regard to these refugees as the test by which he should measure their desire to be well or ill with Austria.

M. Musurus stated that although he admitted that he had received no recent instructions respecting the Hungarian refugees, Prince Schwarzenberg must feel that his Government was most anxious to be relieved from the expense and responsibility attendant on their confinement, and promised his Highness to report to his Government the conversation which he had had with him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 13.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

(No. 73.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 82, of the 6th instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you had had with Prince Schwarzenberg relative to the detention of the Hungarian refugees now in the Turkish Dominions, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language held by you on this occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 14.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 12.)

(No. 105.)

My Lord, *Vienna, October* 2, 1850.

M. MUSURUS has obligingly communicated to me this day a despatch which he has received from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated the 21st ultimo, in reply to his report of the steps which I had taken in conformity with your Lordship's directions, on the 6th September, to relieve the Sublime Porte from the expense and responsibility attending the continued maintenance of the Hungarian refugees at present detained in the Turkish Dominions.

Aali Effendi declares in this despatch, that the Turkish Government have never made any mystery of their desire to be relieved from this responsibility; that they have often mentioned it to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Klezl, and have manifested the same desire whenever inquiries have been addressed to them by the Representatives of the Foreign Powers; adding, however, that the good faith of the Sublime Porte did not allow them to get rid of the Hungarian refugees before the conditions of its last official note had been fulfilled; and that they should be charmed if Austria would herself decide, or could be decided, to come to an understanding on this subject.

The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs says that he avails himself of this opportunity to express the confident hope that Prince Schwarzenberg will concur with them in putting an end to this embarrassing and disagreeable question (épineuse et désagréable), and concludes by declaring that the Porte will faithfully discharge the engagements on this subject which she has contracted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 15.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

(No. 114.)

My Lord, *Vienna, October* 8, 1850.

M. MUSURUS has been good enough to acquaint me confidentially with the result of his conversation with Prince Schwarzenberg on communicating to his Highness Aali Pasha's despatch of the 21st ultimo, respecting the desire of the Porte to be relieved as soon as possible from the responsibility and expense attending the prolonged detention of the Hungarian refugees at present at Kutahia, the substance of which I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 105, of the 2nd instant.

Prince Schwarzenberg appeared displeased at the paragraph in Aali Pasha's despatch to M. Musurus which states that the Turkish Government had never

made a mystery to the Representatives of foreign Powers, of their desire to get rid of the Hungarian refugees. His Highness observed that the moment was not yet come when the Austrian Government could consent to their being set at liberty; and that without entering into minute particulars as to the state of Hungary, he would merely state that the peasantry of that country had concealed many millions of Kossuth's notes; and that a belief was prevalent that when he is set at liberty he will make an attempt to upset the present Government of Hungary, and would in the event of success restore their lost value to these hoarded notes. With such a means of exciting and raising the peasantry, disturbances might be easily created, and though they would certainly be quickly put down, they might nevertheless cost many lives, and therefore it was far from cruel and inhuman, as was said, to detain the refugees.

His Highness said that instead of causing embarrassments between the two Governments, the Porte would prove its neighbourly and kind feelings to Austria by detaining those whom the latter regarded as dangerous; and he hinted at the probability of their numbers being diminished by a selection of those whom the Austrian Government did not look upon as equally dangerous as the remaining portion.

It appears clear from this conversation, that this Government will not at present consent to the liberation of the Hungarian refugees now in Turkey, and it seems very doubtful whether the Porte will have the courage to set them at liberty without some previous understanding on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 16.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 19.)

(No. 306.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October* 4, 1850.

I AVAIL myself of the present opportunity to forward the copies inclosed herewith of four papers relating to the detention of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia. One of them is a despatch from the Ottoman Envoy at Vienna; another is an instruction addressed in reply by Aali Pasha to that Minister; the remaining two papers are instructions addressed by me to M. Pisani and communicated to Aali Pasha.

The Porte has not yet taken any final decision respecting the liberation of the refugees. I entertain no sanguine hope that M. Kossuth will be allowed to leave Turkey in the course of this year. It is more probable that he will be permitted on the approach of winter to remove to Brussa with his family. An idea prevails that the Austrian Government is itself inclined to consent to the liberation of Count Batthyani and some others.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

M. Musurus to Aali Pasha.

Monseigneur, *Vienne, 10 Septembre,* 1850.

MR. MAGENIS, Ministre Plénipotentiaire par interim d'Angleterre, m'a donné lecture d'une dépêche de Lord Palmerston, datée du 27 Août, et conçue à peu près dans ces termes:

"Il vous invite à représenter au Gouvernement d'Autriche, que la Sublime Porte désire être délivrée de la responsabilité et de la charge que lui impose l'internement des Hongrois réfugiés dans ses Etats, mais qu'elle voudrait que cela fût, s'il était possible, d'accord avec le Gouvernement d'Autriche. Comme il s'est déjà écoulé un an depuis que ces réfugiés sont retenus sur le territoire Ottoman, et que la tranquillité se trouve rétablie en Hongrie, le temps est venu où la Sublime Porte peut se prévaloir de l'offre qui lui a été faite par les Etats

Unis de recevoir ces réfugiés sur leur territoire, où des terres leur seraient concédées pour s'y établir en qualité de colons. Si, comme il est à espérer, le Gouvernement d'Autriche partageait cet avis du Gouvernement Britannique, une communication adressée à cet effet par le Cabinet de Vienne à la Sublime Porte serait considérée par Sa Majesté le Sultan comme une preuve des dispositions amicales de la Cour d'Autriche."

Après la lecture de cette dépêche, Mr. Magenis m'ayant demandé si j'avais reçu moi-même des instructions de votre Excellence dans le même sens, je lui ai répondu négativement.

Trois jours plus tard j'ai appris de Mr. Magenis que M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg, à qui il avait remis l'original de la dépêche précitée de Lord Palmerston, pour en prendre lecture, en avait à peine parcouru quelques lignes qu'il la lui avait rendue, en alléguant qu'il ne reconnaissait pas à l'Angleterre le droit de s'immiscer dans une affaire qui ne concernait que la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement d'Autriche; que sur l'observation de Mr. Magenis, qu'il supposait que la dépêche de Lord Palmerston était sans doute la conséquence d'une démarche de la Sublime Porte auprès du Cabinet de Londres, le Prince avait répondu qu'il n'y croyait pas, et que Mr. Magenis ayant fini par lui lire toute la dépêche, le Prince avait persisté à se retrancher derrière l'allégation que l'Angleterre n'avait aucun droit de s'immiscer dans cette affaire.

Comme j'ai l'habitude de voir régulièrement le Prince, la veille du départ de la poste je me suis présenté hier chez lui. Dès que je me suis assis, il m'a rendu un compte détaillé de tout ce qui s'était passé entre lui et Mr. Magenis, en ajoutant que les relations entre les deux Gouvernemens ayant été reprises et continuant de devenir de plus en plus amicales, l'intervention d'une tierce Puissance était aussi superflue qu'inadmissible, qu'il ne pouvait jamais croire que la démarche de l'Angleterre eût été provoquée par la Sublime Porte elle-même, et que votre Excellence n'avait rien dit à ce sujet à M. Klezl.

J'ai répondu au Prince que je n'avais pas non plus reçu d'instructions de votre Excellence à cet égard, tout en lui faisant observer que la Sublime Porte devait sans doute désirer de voir cesser la responsabilité et la surveillance d'un si grand nombre d'individus, et qu'elle serait naturellement satisfaite si le Cabinet de Vienne lui annonçait l'acceptation de l'offre des Etats Unis.

Le Prince m'a répliqué qu'il savait bien que l'internement et la surveillance de ces individus n'était certes pas une chose agréable, mais qu'il lui paraissait impossible, qu'à peine les relations rétablies, la Sublime Porte voulût susciter des embarras à l'Autriche; que la Hongrie était bien loin de jouir de la tranquillité désirable, malgré les efforts du Gouvernement pour atteindre ce but; qu'accepter l'offre des Etats Unis, ce serait consentir à la mise en liberté des réfugiés; ce serait offrir à Kossuth l'occasion de se rendre à Londres; qu'en un mot, le Gouvernement d'Autriche n'y consentirait point. Il m'a engagé, enfin, à répéter à votre Excellence ce qu'il m'avait déjà dit à une autre occasion, c'est-à-dire, que la conduite que la Sublime Porte suivrait à l'égard des réfugiés de Kutahia, serait la preuve la seule positive de ses sentimens d'amitié sincère envers l'Autriche, et la seule propre à resserrer de plus en plus et à cimenter les liens d'intimité qui doivent unir les deux empires.

Je suis, &c.
(Signé) C. MUSURUS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.

Monsieur, *Constantinople, le* 21 *Septembre*, 1850.

J'AI reçu par le dernier courrier de Vienne la dépêche que vous m'avez adressée en date du 10 Septembre, 1850, au sujet de la conversation que vous avez eue avec M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg sur une communication de Mr. Magenis au Ministère Impérial d'Autriche, concernant les internés de Kutahia.

Vous savez, Monsieur, que la surveillance que nous nous sommes engagés à exercer sur ces internés impose à la Sublime Porte une responsabilité et des charges assez lourdes, pour qu'elle désire ardemment de s'en débarrasser le plus tôt possible.

Le Gouvernement du Sultan ne fait point un mystère de ce désir; nous en avons parlé souvent à M. de Klezl lui-même; et toutes les fois que les Représentans des autres Puissances nous ont questionné sur l'époque où nous comptions mettre un terme à cet état de choses, nous leur avons manifesté le même désir. Nous avons ajouté en outre, que malgré les grandes difficultés de cette situation, la loyauté de la Sublime Porte ne lui permettait pas de s'en défaire avant d'avoir rempli toutes les conditions de sa dernière note officielle; et que nous serions charmés si l'Autriche pouvait se déterminer, ou bien si l'on pouvait la déterminer à en finir dès à présent.

Chercher à se tirer d'une position pareille est tellement naturel, que nous n'avons pas même besoin d'articuler notre légitime impatience à cet égard.

Je profite donc de cette occasion pour exprimer de nouveau notre ferme espoir de voir M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg nous donner une nouvelle et éclatante preuve de sa bonne volonté en contribuant à dégager les relations des deux empires de cette épineuse et désagréable question.

Quant à la Sublime Porte, vous pouvez assurer le Cabinet de Vienne qu'elle sera toujours fidèle aux engagemens qu'elle a contractés par sa dite note officielle.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Sir, *Therapia, September* 15, 1850.

THE perusal of Aali Pasha's answer, as reported by you, to my last communication respecting the refugees from Hungary detained at Kutahia and elsewhere, induces me to add some further remarks for his Excellency's consideration.

We are agreed that of the two conditions to which the Porte has pledged itself, one is completely fulfilled. Of the other the Pasha appears to have spoken doubtingly. One would almost think that in his opinion the Porte was pledged not only to try to obtain the consent of Austria, but actually to obtain it, before the refugees were allowed to leave Turkey. To no such meaning of the Porte's note as this can I subscribe. The words of the note translated by you are as follows:—"Elle (la Sublime Porte) lui (à la Cour d'Autriche) fera connaître son intention (celle d'éloigner les réfugiés de ses Etats), et tâchera d'avoir son adhésion." It is impossible to forget what took place at the time respecting this phrase, which was finally adopted on a confidential understanding with me, as the extreme limit to which the Porte could possibly carry its concessions consistently with its firm intention of reserving to itself the right of deciding at what precise, and not distant period, the detention of the refugees should cease.

The Porte's only remaining obligation towards Austria on this subject is therefore an endeavour to procure the assent of that Government to its decision. It might fairly be said that this condition is already fulfilled by the communications to M. Klezl and a knowledge of Prince Schwarzenberg's answer to M. Musurus's statement of the Porte's sentiments. At all events there can be no question of its complete fulfilment by the communication of the instruction since addressed by Aali Pasha to that Minister; and if the Porte is not prepared to dismiss the refugees at once, I hope it will at least authorize me to assure Her Majesty's Government that they will be released before the winter sets in, whatever may be the answer of the Austrian Cabinet.

With respect to the refugees who went voluntarily to Kutahia, I cannot at all admit that the Porte has any right to involve them in the restraint to which the others have been hitherto subjected.

You will leave a copy of this instruction with Aali Pasha after explaining its contents to his Excellency, and you will also give in a copy of the preceding one if it be not already left with him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 16.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Therapia, September 23, 1850.

Sir,

IN returning the original despatch received by Aali Pasha from Vienna, you will thank his Excellency for the communication of that paper and of the answer addressed by him to M. Musurus.

Though regretting that a formal expression of the Porte's opinion and desire as to the refugees at Kutahia and their emancipation was not addressed sooner to Prince Schwarzenberg through the Ottoman Representative at Vienna, I entertain an earnest hope that the present declaration of the Porte's sentiments on that subject will soon be followed by its natural and necessary result.

The Porte has incurred only two obligations with respect to the detention of the refugees: one is relative to the restoration of tranquillity in Hungary; the other concerns the notice to be given to the Austrian Government. Under no circumstances was it meant that the detention should be more than temporary, and the Porte reserved to itself the right of determining when the detention should cease. Both obligations are now fulfilled. It is notorious that the tranquillity of Hungary is restored. It is equally clear that the Porte has redeemed its pledge of giving notice by trying to obtain the assent of Austria to the departure of the refugees from Turkey. It remains therefore for the Porte to complete the promise contained in its note to Count Stürmer, by putting an end to a detention which was always attended with embarrassment, vexation, and danger to its interests, and which, if it were prolonged after the only two conditions attached to it were fulfilled, would remain without necessity or justification.

The opinion of Her Majesty's Government on this painful question is already known to Aali Pasha, and I presume to his Excellency's colleagues also. It would on every account afford me the liveliest satisfaction to be authorized to announce to Viscount Palmerston the approaching cessation of a measure which cannot be unnecessarily prolonged without injustice and an increase of those evils and hazards which have never failed to accompany it.

Inclosed herewith is a list which has come incidentally into my possession, containing the names not only of the individuals originally and subsequently detained at Kutahia or placed at Aleppo, but also of many others who either accompanied voluntarily their relations and masters to the places of their detention, or were allowed to remain at Shumla.

You will show the list in question to Aali Pasha, and request his Excellency to inform you whether the Porte has consented, and on what grounds, to treat as detained persons, those who went of their own accord to the places of detention, by what appears to be an unwarrantable extension of the right conceded to Austria of presenting a second list within two months from the date or delivery of the Porte's official note.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 17.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 277.)

Foreign Office, October 23, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 306, of the 4th instant, containing copies of correspondence respecting the detention of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the communications which you have made to the Porte, and the course which you have pursued in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 18.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 19.)

(No. 326. Confidential.)

Therapia, November 5, 1850.

My Lord,

I AVAIL myself of this opportunity to forward herewith in copy a despatch addressed to Aali Pasha by the Turkish Envoy at Vienna, and communicated confidentially to me by the former of those Ministers. It relates to the proposed liberation of the refugees detained at Kutahia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No 18.

M. Musurus to Aali Pasha.

Vienne, le 8 *Octobre*, 1850.

Monseigneur,

LE lendemain de la réception de la dépêche que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 4/16 Septembre, au sujet de la démarche du Cabinet Britannique concernant les internés de Kutahia, c'est-à-dire, le 2 de ce mois, j'ai eu une entrevue avec M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg.

Je lui ai donné lecture de cette dépêche, tout en accompagnant cette communication des développemens nécessaires.

Le Prince m'a exprimé sa satisfaction pour les assurances données par votre Excellence sur l'intention de la Sublime Porte de remplir avant la cessation de l'internement, toutes les conditions contenues dans sa dernière note officielle, et de rester fidèle aux engagemens qu'elle a contractés. Mais j'ai remarqué en lui un certain étonnement à la lecture de cette partie de la dépêche de votre Excellence où il est dit que la Porte a manifesté aux Représentans des autres Puissances qui l'avaient questionné sur l'époque où elle comptait mettre un terme à l'internement, combien elle serait charmée si l'Autriche pourrait se déterminer, ou bien si l'on pourrait la déterminer, à en finir dès à présent. Son étonnement a paru s'accroître quand il a lu le paragraphe où votre Excellence l'exhorte à nous donner une nouvelle preuve de sa bonne volonté en contribuant à dégager les relations de nos deux empires de cette épineuse et désagréable question.

"Je conçois bien," m'a-t-il dit, "que l'internement d'un si grand nombre d'individus doive gêner votre Gouvernement, et que vous soyiez impatiens de vous débarrasser d'un fardeau désagréable. Mais j'aime à croire que vous n'entendez pas raviver une question brûlante, à peine résolue après de longues et pénibles négociations. M. de Klezl, dont je viens de recevoir les rapports, a déjà fait connaître à vos Ministres notre intention de restreindre sous peu l'internement à certaines personnes, à condition que vous expulseriez tous les autres réfugiés qui se trouvent actuellement à Kutahia. Dès-lors, l'internement, appliqué à un petit nombre de personnes, réduira à rien la responsabilité et la charge dont vous vous plaignez. En gardant chez vous ce peu de réfugiés, vous ne faites que nous donner une preuve de vos dispositions amicales et de votre désir d'entretenir avec nous des rapports de bon voisinage. Nous-mêmes, nous vous avons rendu ce service à une autre époque, quand nous avons interné pendant des années quelques-uns de vos sujets rebelles, et nous sommes prêts à agir de même en toute autre occasion. Son Excellence Aali Pacha pense que la cessation de l'internement dégagerait les relations des deux empires d'une épineuse et désagréable question. Pour moi je suis convaincu du contraire. Par l'internement de nos ennemis les plus dangereux, vous nous obligez, et vous contribuez à rendre nos relations bien plus intimes et bien plus agréables, tandis que si vous pressiez la cessation de cette mesure vous provoqueriez une mésintelligence fâcheuse. Si nous tenons à ce que la Porte remplisse ses engagemens, c'est que nous en avons un besoin absolu. Le temps viendra sans doute où la mise en liberté

de Kossuth pourra s'effectuer sans inconvénient, mais à présent il ne saurait en être question. Il serait long de vous faire un tableau détaillé de l'état actuel de la Hongrie, il suffira de vous dire que des bank-notes de Kossuth, dont le montant s'élève à une somme énorme, de millions de florins, sont enfoncées dans la terre par les paysans, auxquels on a fait accroire que dans une nouvelle insurrection méditée par Kossuth, ce papier-monnaie recouvrerait son ancienne valeur. Il s'ensuit que tout ce qui tend à la mise en liberté de Kossuth électrise le peuple Hongrois, qui, à cause de ces bank-notes condamnées par une loi à être confisquées et brûlées, a un intérêt matériel à toute tentative de révolte. Certes, nous sommes assez forts pour réprimer une telle tentative, mais cela donnerait lieu à une effusion de sang, et reculerait le moment du rétablissement sur des bases solides de l'ordre et de la tranquillité. Ainsi la prolongation de l'internement est aujourd'hui commandée par l'humanité. Je n'ai pas le temps de m'étendre d'avantage sur cette question, parceque je suis sur le point de partir pour le Vorarlberg, où je dois rejoindre l'Empereur. Je me borne à vous répéter qu'une nécessité impérieuse nous force à insister sur le maintien des engagemens contractés par la dernière note officielle de son Altesse Aali Pacha, et que la loyauté avec laquelle la Porte remplira ses engagemens sera la preuve la plus manifeste de ses dispositions amicales, et la plus propre à consolider les relations d'intimité que nous désirons entretenir avec elle."

En soumettant à votre Excellence le résumé qui précède de la réponse de M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg au contenu de sa dépêche précitée, je juge superflu de rapporter ici quelques expliques que pendant notre entretien j'ai été dans le cas de faire au Prince, attendu qu'elles n'ont amené aucune modification dans sa persistance.

(Signé) C. MUSURUS.

No. 19.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

(No. 327.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 9, 1850.*

AGREEABLY to your Lordship's instructions I have applied to the Porte for information as to the result of its discussions with Austria respecting the claims of that Power to General Dembinski's allegiance, and I have learnt in reply from Aali Pasha, that the question is still undecided. My last inquiry was addressed to his Excellency in the presence of Reshid Pasha, who on hearing the dissatisfaction which I expressed, intimated that the matter should be brought to a close without further delay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 20.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

(No. 337.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 18, 1850.*

ALL my exertions on behalf of the refugees at Kutahia have been hitherto attended with no visible success. Agreeably to your Lordship's instructions I have pressed the Turkish Ministers to wait no longer for the consent of the Austrian Government, and to act up to the right which the complete restoration of tranquillity in Hungary and Transylvania confers upon the Porte. It is evident, however, that the Porte is not yet prepared to take so determined a course. Aali Pasha assures me that Arif Effendi, who set out for Vienna a few days ago with the character of Ambassador to that Court, is instructed to use every argument calculated to make an effectual impression on the Austrian Government, and to obtain its assent to the proposed liberation of the exiles. When pressed to state the Porte's intention if Prince Schwarzenberg persists in

a refusal, his Excellency replied that the case, should it occur, would be taken into consideration. The question of transferring the refugees in the meantime from Kutahia to the milder situation of Brussa, has not yet been decided by the Cabinet. My repeated representations in that sense have had no other effect but to retard a negative decision and the winter which has reached us sooner than usual, appears to have settled the matter agreeably to Prince Schwarzenberg's wishes for the present.

Even the release of General Dembinski, though to all appearance a clear indisputable case of justice, is deferred at the pleasure of the Austrian Legation. In answer to my last remonstrance on the subject, Aali Pasha informs me that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires has requested an additional delay of three weeks in the hope of receiving some instructions from his Court. I have directed M. Pisani to endeavour once more to dissuade the Turkish Minister from acquiescing in this course of indefinite postponement, but my hopes of success are by no means sanguine.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 21.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 315.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 11, 1850.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of the course pursued by you as reported in your despatch No. 337 of the 18th ultimo, respecting the continued detention of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 22.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 365.)

My Lord, *Therapia, December 5, 1850.*

NO satisfactory answer has yet been given to me by Aali Pasha on the subject of General Dembinski's detention. My repeated inquiries and remarks on the weakness and injustice of allowing the Austrian Government to reap so long the benefit of an unsupported pretension have not prevailed over the Porte's reluctance to afford any fresh matter of discontent to Prince Schwarzenberg. Wearied out by so many delays and subterfuges, I have directed M. Pisani to express my sentiments without reserve to Aali Pasha, and to inform him that I should report the failure of my representations to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 23.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 2, 1851.*

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the course which you have pursued, as reported in your despatch No. 365 of the 5th ultimo, in consequence of the delay of the Porte in returning an answer to your inquiries respecting the detention of General Dembinski.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 24.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 20.)

(No. 3.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 4, 1851.*

AALI PASHA sent me word to-day by M. Frederick Pisani, that he had formally declared to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, that if the Vienna post which is now due, or that of the ensuing week, should not bring the long-expected answer of the Austrian Cabinet respecting General Dembinski, the Porte would allow that officer to leave its territory without further delay for whatever country he might prefer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 25.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 3.)

(No. 16.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 15, 1851.*

I HAVE reason to believe that the Turkish Ministers have at length made up their minds to release General Dembinski without further delay. Aali Pasha pledged his word to me that if the answer expected from Vienna did not arrive by the last Austrian post, the decision of the Porte would be no longer deferred. The post which came in three days ago did not bring that answer, and I have therefore called upon his Excellency to redeem his pledge. He has assured me in his reply to-day, that the Porte is going to take the Sultan's pleasure for the immediate release of the General; and judging from the practice of this Government the matter will now be settled agreeably to our wishes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 26.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 35.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 7, 1851.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have received from various quarters memorials praying the interposition of Her Majesty's Government to obtain the release of M. Kossuth and his companions, now detained in Asia Minor; and I have to instruct your Excellency to bring this circumstance under the notice of the Turkish Government, as proving the

deep and general interest which is felt by the people of this country on the subject to which these memorials relate.

Your Excellency should at the same time observe that a general and hearty support was afforded by the British Nation to Her Majesty's Government in regard to the measures adopted last year to assist the Sultan in declining to comply with the demands which were made upon him with respect to the Polish and Hungarian refugees; but that support was founded upon the impression that the Sultan, if duly assisted by Great Britain, would act a thoroughly independent part in regard to those refugees.

The Turkish Government would do well to remember that Great Britain can act efficiently in support of the Turkish Empire only as far as the British Government may be backed by public opinion in this country.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 27.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 8.)

(No. 24.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 20, 1851.*

A GENOESE ship having 270 Polish refugees on board and chartered at the Porte's expense, is now leaving the harbour of Constantinople for that of Liverpool, where its unfortunate inmates, though having in view a further voyage to the United States of America, are obliged to touch in consequence of not having the means of direct conveyance to their final place of destination. I learn from Aali Pasha that 240 of these emigrants have received from the Porte a sufficient sum of money to defray the expenses of their voyage, and to leave them in possession of a month's subsistence after reaching the coast of England. They are also provided with an American passport for the United States. The remaining 32 received a similar amount of assistance, partly from the Porte and partly from another source. They went on board to replace as many Hungarians who had come with the residue of the emigration from Shumla, and wished to form a colony in the Sultan's dominions.

These 30 Hungarians with 36 others of the same nation collected here, and looking to M. Kossuth for advice and guidance, are now also on the point of embarking for England in the Oriental steam-packet, the Porte having ordered them away, notwithstanding my representations in their favour, and having at the same time supplied them with money to defray the expenses of their passage, and to provide for their personal wants on first arriving at Liverpool.

It would be difficult for any one to contemplate the fate of these poor emigrants without a strong feeling of compassion, and in my humble judgment, the Turkish Ministers have much to answer for on their account. They have not it is true been left without assistance, and they have sometimes manifested unreasonable and impatient expectations. But they have had to undergo from first to last a most unnecessary degree of vexation; and their present removal from Turkey, though relieving the Porte from an irksome embarrassment and probably sparing them much fruitless labour in an unprofitable enterprise, must operate as a deathblow to their dearest hopes and a painful aggravation of Kossuth's exile.

The only arm which I could use on their behalf was that of persuasion, and although I could not probably have used it with more effect, I should have used it with more satisfaction if I had been more firmly convinced of the reality of their resources for establishing an agricultural colony in this country, and had reason to entertain a better opinion of these auxiliary means on which they had been led, rather too sanguinely I fear, to rely. As it is, my success has been limited to obtaining a somewhat larger amount of money for their voyage and subsequent subsistence than the Porte was at first inclined to allow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—I learn this moment by a message from the Porte, that the embarkation of the Hungarian emigrants is suspended till the departure of the next Oriental steam-packet. S. C.

No. 28.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received February* 19.)

(No. 37.)

Constantinople, February 4, 1851.

My Lord,

AWARE of the lively interest which Her Majesty's Government benevolently take in the cessation of that very questionable act of political necessity which has so long detained the most illustrious of the exiles of Hungary at Kutahia, I have repeatedly reminded the Turkish Ministers of their promise to reconsider the question as soon as the Sultan's Ambassador at Vienna should report the issue of his communications with Prince Schwarzenberg on that subject. It is with sentiments of unfeigned concern that I continue to receive from Aali Pasha a repetition of the same motive for delay. Only four days have elapsed since his Excellency sent me word that the Ambassador, owing to Prince Schwarzenberg's absence from Vienna, had not hitherto succeeded in fulfilling his instructions with respect to the refugees. He added, however, that the next Austrian post was likely to bring the expected report.

With respect to General Dembinski I have been surprised and mortified to learn that the order for his liberation had not been dispatched to Kutahia fifteen days after I had been led to expect that it would be no longer delayed. I have not concealed from Aali Pasha the feelings which this disappointment has naturally excited in my mind; and the satisfaction which I now derive from his assurance that the order for General Dembinski's release will be forthwith transmitted to Kutahia will not be complete until I hear that the order has been actually carried into effect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 29.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received March* 10.)

(No. 50. Confidential.)

Constantinople, February 19, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, a copy of the note presented by M. de Klezl to the Porte respecting the liberation of the refugees at Kutahia. I obtained it confidentially from Aali Pasha.

I also transmit herewith in copy an instruction addressed by me on that subject to Mr. Frederick Pisani, together with that gentleman's report of Aali Pasha's reply to his communication of its contents.

I am informed by Aali Pasha in confidence, that Prince Schwarzenberg repelled with harshness the attempts of Arif Effendi, the Sultan's Ambassador at Vienna, to obtain a more satisfactory decision respecting the refugees. It appears that the Prince silenced his Excellency by a peremptory declaration that he had already written to Constantinople, and would listen to nothing more upon the subject. This abrupt and haughty proceeding has created an unpleasant impression at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 29.

M. de Klezl to Aali Pasha.

Constantinople, 9 Février, 1851.

C'EST avec une satisfaction bien vive que le Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche près la Sublime Porte, a l'honneur d'informer son Excellence Aali Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le

Sultan, que le Cabinet Impérial, animé du désir de faciliter autant que possible au Gouvernement Ottoman l'exécution des engagemens qu'il a contractés relativement aux chefs de l'insurrection Hongroise internés à Kutahia, a résolu de donner son assentiment à ce que la plus grande partie de ces réfugiés puisse quitter le sol Ottoman.

La liste ci-jointe sub No. 1 renferme les noms de tous les réfugiés actuellement internés à Kutahia, à savoir, ceux des chefs de l'insurrection et des individus qui les ont suivi volontairement.

La liste No. 2 désigne les réfugiés qui devront continuer de rester internés.

Par conséquent, tous ceux dont les noms ne figurent point dans cette dernière liste pourront quitter le lieu d'internement, à condition: 1. Qu'ils seront éloignés tous, sans exception, des Etats Ottomans. 2. Qu'il ne sera permis à aucun d'eux d'y jamais retourner.

La Porte jugera peut-être à propos de s'en assurer moyennant des engagemens écrits qu'elle se ferait délivrer par eux; mais en tout cas le Gouvernement Impérial insiste sur les deux conditions sus-énoncées, ainsi qu'il trouve nécessaire que les mêmes précautions et formalités soient observées comme lors de la translation des réfugiés de Choumla, soit aux lieux d'internement, soit à Malte.

Les mesures de surveillance n'ayant, d'après cela, à être appliquées dorénavant qu'à huit chefs et neuf personnes de leur suite, le Gouvernement d'Autriche est fondé à espérer que la Porte, appréciant ce nouveau témoignage d'amitié et de bienveillance de sa part, voudra bien ordonner que les mesures en question soient maintenues avec d'autant plus de rigueur, que l'exiguité du nombre des réfugiés, dont l'internement à Kutahia devra continuer, rend ces mesures infiniment moins difficiles et onéreuses pour la Sublime Porte.

En se félicitant d'être l'organe d'une communication qui ne pourra que contribuer à resserrer de plus en plus les liens de sincère amitié qui unissent si heureusement les deux empires voisins, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

(Signé) ED. DE KLEZL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 29.

List of Refugees at Kutahia.

1. LISTE des Insurgés Hongrois et Polonais qui se trouvent internés à Kutahia.

Noms des Chefs internés et de leurs compagnons volontaires:—

1. Louis Kossuth	Madame Kossuth.
	Daniel Tharz.
	Louis Frater.
	Etienne Kiniczy.
	Emeric Timari.
	Jean Kalapsa.
	Paul Grachenek.
	François Nasztanu.
	Ladislas Bersenczey.
	Guillaume Weigl.
	Martin Koszta.
	Joseph Seredy.
	Louis Torok.
	Edouard Biro.
	Charles Laszlo.
	Edouard Loradi.
	François Kappner.
	Gideon Aes.
	Emeric Ezeh.
	Gustave Wagner.
	Spaczek Wagner.
	Trois palefreniers.

2. Casimir Batthyani . .	Madame Batthyani. Mihalovics. Six domestiques.
3. Lazari Meszaros . .	Katona. Aschbach.
4. Maurice Perczel . .	Madame Perczel. Nalasz. Peretzky.
5. Nicolas Perczel . .	Un domestique.
6. Adolphe Gyurmann .	Madame Gyurmann. Un domestique.
7. Dembinsky . . .	Chotchiusky. Lavoisky. Navitsovits. Un domestique
8. Matczinsky . . .	Szczepanski.
9. Przyemsky . . .	Un domestique.
10. Szolossy . . .	Un domestique.
11. Wysocki . . .	Lissakowski. Kossak. Un domestique.
12. Stanislaus Briganti.	
13. Chojecki.	
14. Alexandre Arboth . .	Deux domestiques.
15. Etienne Kovacz (ci-devant curé).	
16. Joseph Fokner.	
17. Emanuel Luley.	
18. Meiriadomsky.	
19. Butharni.	
20. Tschornizky.	
21. Lo.	
22. Grohowalsky.	
23. Pleszuisky.	

Inclosure 3 in No. 29.

List of Refugees to remain at Kutahia.

2. LISTE des Chefs de l'insurrection Hongroise qui devront continuer de rester internés à Kutahia:—

1. Louis Kossuth, avec .	Madame Kossuth. Daniel Thasz, Jean Kulapsza. François Naszmann. Gustave Wagner. Ladislas Berezenzcy. Gédéon Aez.
2. Casimir Batthyani, avec Madame Batthyani.	
3. Maurice Perczel.	
4. Nicolas Perczel.	
5. Wysocki.	
6. Alexandre Arboth.	
7. Adolphe Gyurmann, avec Madame Gyurmann.	
8. Emmanuel Luley.	

Inclosure 4 in No. 29.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

British Palace, February 13, 1851.

Sir,

I AM happy to learn from your report of Aali Pasha's answer to my message respecting the refugees at Kutahia, that the Porte is not disposed to accept the Austrian view of that subject. I sincerely hope that the Turkish Government, in addition to this result of its sagacity and sense of justice, will have the firmness to act according to its convictions and true interests. It has already more than fulfilled its engagements towards Austria. It remains for it to redeem the pledge which it gave at the same time to Europe, and more especially to those Powers which stood by it in the hour of menace and apparent danger. By so doing the Porte will not only perform an act of justice which, however tardy, will do it credit in the eyes of Europe; but it will best consult its dignity and lay a just claim to the lasting gratitude of those concerned.

The proposed separation of the refugees, and the conditions attached to the liberation of some of them, however disguised under specious terms, are in truth and reality fresh acts of injustice towards the refugees, and of humiliation to the Porte.

The Sultan and his Ministers have only to release the whole party at once; as in right they are entitled and in justice bound to do. A proceeding so just, humane, and honourable would not expose them to any well-founded complaints from Austria, while it would entitle them to the approval and cordial sympathy of all Christendom.

I venture to hope that Aali Pasha will enable you to give me a full assurance to this effect for the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government.

You will read this instruction to Aali Pasha, requesting him to convey the expression of my sentiments to the Sultan as well as to his colleagues.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 5 in No. 29.

M. F. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Péra, ce 13 Février, 1851.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que j'ai lu et expliqué mot à mot à Aali Pacha votre instruction en date de ce jour, relativement aux réfugiés de Kutahia.

Aali Pacha a de nouveau exprimé son opinion particulière que la séparation demandée par l'Autriche ne serait pas convenable; "mais," dit-il, "je ne suis pas encore à même de rien dire de positif à cet égard qu'au préalable le Conseil n'ait discuté cette grave question. En attendant, j'assure," ajouta le Ministre, "que je ne manquerai pas de faire connaître et au Sultan et à mes collègues, les sentimens que Mr. Canning exprime à cette occasion."

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. PISANI.

No. 30.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 51.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 19, 1851.

THE Austrian Government has signified to the Porte its assent to the immediate liberation of a large majority of the refugees detained at Kutahia. Eight persons, including M. Kossuth and Count Batthyani, are excepted, together with a certain number of those who volunteered to join them from the first, and

who have since partaken their detention. Certain conditions are attached to the liberation of the others, and it is even required that General Dembinski should not be allowed to come here before he leaves the Sultan's dominions.

The Porte is ready to assert its right to liberate the whole party without further delay, but hesitates as to acting in that sense without another and a final reference to Vienna.

The advice which I have given to Auli Pasha may be easily anticipated by your Lordship. It is simply that the Porte should act up to its declared principle, and do itself honour by declining to be a party to an arrangement which separates one part of the refugees from another, and increases the difficulty of releasing the latter part hereafter. I am not yet aware that the Council has come to a decision. Judging from the language of Auli Pasha it is probable that a written answer will be returned to the note presented by M. de Klezl, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, that General Dembinski will be allowed to come here; that the individuals to be liberated with Austria's assent will be sent out of the empire; and that the remainder will only be detained to allow time for a fresh reference to Vienna out of a friendly consideration for the wishes of the Austrian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 31.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 72.)

Foreign Office, March 15, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 51 of the 19th of February, from which it appears that the Austrian Government has consented to the immediate release of a certain portion of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, but requires that the remainder of them should still be detained there; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued and the language held by you, as reported in your despatch, in regard to the communication recently made to the Porte on this matter by the Austrian Government.

The Sultan having performed his engagement towards the Emperor of Austria, which was to keep the Hungarian refugees in Turkey until tranquillity should be restored in Hungary, it would certainly not be consistent with his dignity as an independent Sovereign, to become the gaoler for a foreign Power, and to continue to act as such as long as it might please that foreign Power to require him to remain in that unbecoming condition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 32.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received March* 26.)

(No. 60.)

Constantinople, March 6, 1851.

My Lord,

THE Porte has not yet taken any final decision with respect to the refugees at Kutahia. A Council is shortly to be held on the subject. I have made the most strenuous representations in favour of their immediate release. My principal instruction upon the subject to Mr. Pisani is inclosed herewith in copy. I have seen the Grand Vizier and personally enforced upon his Highness the arguments employed in that paper, which has been left with Auli Pasha for communication to the higher authorities. I am apprehensive, however, that the urgent and intimidating remonstrances of the Austrian Legation will so far produce their effect as to cause a fresh postponement of the just and humane measure which I have so earnestly recommended. M. de Klezl had a long

conference some days ago with the Sultan's brother-in-law, and present prime confidant, the Grand Master of the Artillery; and it may fairly be presumed that the object of his visit was to make an impression through Fethi Ahmet Pasha on His Majesty's mind, to the prejudice of M. Kossuth and his companions in misfortune. The improved position of Austria, and some want of prudence on the side of those at Kutahia, increase the difficulty of sustaining the Porte's resolution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

British Palace, February 21, 1851.

Sir,

YOU are already aware that I have read with deep interest the draft of Auli Pasha's reply to M. de Klezl's note respecting the refugees at Kutahia, and that I look upon the course of argument pursued in it, as fully deserving my cordial concurrence. The verbal communications which you have had with his Excellency respecting those unfortunate individuals, allow me to hope that notwithstanding his very natural desire to obtain the assent of Austria to their complete liberation, a sense of justice and of her own dignity and interest will finally determine the Porte to permit their departure from her dominions without further delay.

It cannot be denied, and the Porte's note judiciously avows, that there is no longer any obligation whatever to protract their detention in Turkey. The only conceivable motive for waiting to make a fresh reference to Vienna, is one of courtesy and international compliment. The Turkish Council could not for a moment entertain the idea except as a demonstration of punctilious regard for a neighbouring empire. But how is an act of mere formal civility, alike unnecessary and unprofitable, to be justified, when so many powerful objections stand in array against it? Is the Porte, it may be asked, at liberty to overlook the positive obligations of justice, in order to gratify a feeling of neighbourly politeness? Has not the Cabinet of Vienna already received ample testimonies of the Porte's deference on this subject? Is it not time for the Porte to consider the claims of its own dignity and of its credit in other countries, together with the recommendations of those friendly Powers, which have never ceased to counsel a wise, humane, and honourable course of conduct with respect to the refugees?

The Porte, it would seem, has thought itself bound by the ties of good neighbourhood, to fulfil with scrupulous exactness an incomplete engagement which was never formally contracted. She has fulfilled it with much cost and inconvenience to herself, at the expense of individuals recommended by their misfortunes and confiding in her humanity. How much more strongly then is she constrained to redeem in turn that other pledge which was virtually received from her hands by those who, at an alarming juncture, gave her the warmest proof of their sympathy and support?

These cogent reasons, which in truth admit of no solid answer, are further enforced by the manifest inutility of referring again to Vienna, and by the additional embarrassment which may easily result from an act of such needless supererogation. It cannot, moreover, be supposed that the Porte would volunteer without necessity to lay itself open in the sight of all Europe to a charge of wanton injustice?

Such being the real state of the case, when seen in its true light and stripped of every illusive colouring, I entertain a sanguine expectation that Auli Pasha will recognize the urgency of modifying the latter part of his note. He need not doubt that by placing its conclusion more entirely in harmony with the clear and able statement which precedes it, he will expose his Government to no just reproach on the part of any neighbouring Power, but, on the contrary, that he will at once release it from a vexatious and discreditable burthen, completing at the same time a great act of humanity, and affording a lively feeling of satisfaction to more than one friendly Government and nation.

The sentiments which prevail on this subject from one end of England to the other are well known, and you will not fail to recommend them to his Excellency's serious reflections, explaining to him the purport of the present instruction, and leaving a copy of it in his hands.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 33.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 63. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 6, 1851.*

INCLOSED herewith is the copy of an official note addressed to Aali Pasha by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires on the subject of the refugees at Kutahia. I am indebted to the Ottoman Secretary of State for the communication, in strict confidence, of a remonstrance which shows how great a degree of importance the Austrian Cabinet attaches to the continued detention of Kossuth and his more immediate partisans.

Even when complaining of General Dembinski's arrival, the Austrian Dragoman declared to Aali Pasha that he threw the whole responsibility of that circumstance on his Excellency's shoulders. It appears that the Ottoman Minister replied with becoming spirit, but that an uncomfortable impression has nevertheless been left upon his mind.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 33.

M. de Klezl to Aali Pasha.

Constantinople, le 27 Février, 1851.

LE Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche près la Sublime Porte Ottomane, se voit dans le cas de faire à son Excellence Aali Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Sultan, la déclaration suivante:

Le départ de Kutahia de tout réfugié interné dans cette ville sans le consentement préalable du Gouvernement Impérial et sans les formalités et précautions qui ont été observées lors du transport de ces réfugiés de Choumla à Kutahia, devra être considéré comme une infraction à l'arrangement qui a été conclu au sujet de l'internement des dits réfugiés, et comme un fait de nature à porter la plus grave atteinte aux relations entre les deux empires.

Le Soussigné a l'honneur, &c. (Signé) ED. DE KLEZL.

No. 34.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 64.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 6, 1851.*

THE Hungarian refugees whom I mentioned to your Lordship in a former part of my correspondence as making preparations to embark with the Poles who sailed for England several weeks ago, are still here, and I learn from Aali Pasha that the Porte intends to encourage their early departure. Their stay has been hitherto connived at in order to give them time to take the orders of M. Kossuth, whom they continue apparently to consider as their chief. The plan of settling them in this country as colonists, if not abandoned by choice, would seem to have been found impracticable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 35.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 66.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 6, 1851.*

GENERAL DEMBINSKI arrived here from Kutahia a few days ago. He is going to France, and will not I think be allowed to stay in this country beyond the end of the month. The Austrian Legation has complained vehemently of his being allowed to visit Constantinople at all. He came with the hope of making some arrangement for being constantly employed in the service of the Porte. Some prospect of the kind may possibly be held out to him; but the influence of Austria continues no doubt to be exerted against him, and amongst the symptoms of its being exerted with some degree of effect is the reluctance of the Turkish Ministers to receive him as a visitor.

He informed me in conversation that he and Kossuth had been strangers to each other during the whole period of his detention at Kutahia. This separation appeared to be a result of his want of confidence in the late Hungarian President's character for firmness, conduct, and ability. He further assured me that when he had the command of the Hungarian forces, a secret communication was made to him by the officers of the Russian army, purporting their readiness to co-operate with him as soon as he could succeed in winning a battle at their expense. My expression of surprise at so extraordinary an incident was followed by a strong affirmation of the fact on his part, and a distinct assurance of his belief that the Russian army only wants an opportunity to show how little it is really devoted to the Emperor's person and service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNNING.

No. 36.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 89.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 18, 1851.*

THE Council has taken a decision respecting the refugees at Kutahia. Of three propositions submitted to the Ministry they have adopted one which resolves on the liberation of all the refugees, with an immediate declaration of that tenor to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, and a delay of thirty days at most for the conveyance of a last notification to the Court of Vienna.

I have done everything in my power to obtain the liberation of the refugees, even without this formality, and I am still endeavouring, though with no great prospect of success, to obtain an immediate execution of the Porte's definitive resolution in their favour.

Inclosed herewith is a copy of my last instruction to M. Pisani on this subject, and you will perceive on perusing it, that I have made full use of your Lordship's correspondence, and the memorials which accompanied it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 36.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Sir, *Pera, March 15,* 1851.

INCLOSED herewith is an extract of that instruction respecting the refugees at Kutahia which I lately received from Viscount Palmerston, and of which you have already communicated the substance to Aali Pasha.

In placing the extract in his Excellency's hands, you will observe that the terms of the memorials addressed to his Lordship on this subject from many of

the towns of England, Scotland, and Wales, would have authorized the use of much stronger language. It is not to be concealed from the Porte, that public opinion in England is deeply affected by the weakness which has been shown by the Turkish Government in consenting to continue so long to be the gaolers for another Power of those unfortunate individuals who in the first instance were protected so nobly by the Sultan, and whose rescue from death and reception in this country on principles no less sound than generous, procured for His Majesty the universal applause and admiration of the British people. I cannot too strongly recommend a serious attention to the important political interests concerned in a change of opinion pregnant with the gravest consequences, and to repeat my earnest hope and expectation that the Porte will no longer delay to complete its work of justice and humanity by the liberation of all the refugees detained without the least necessity at Kutahia.

You will read this instruction to Aali Pasha, and leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 37.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 85.)

Foreign Office, April 7, 1851.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 66, of the 6th of March, I have to observe to your Excellency that General Dembinski's statement as to the communication made to him by the officers of the Russian army during the late operations in Hungary seems to be very improbable, unless the communication was sent to General Dembinski as a taunt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 38.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 95.)

Foreign Office, April 7, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of your Excellency's continued endeavours, as reported in your despatch No. 89, of the 18th ultimo, to hasten the liberation of the Hungarian refugees still detained at Kutahia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 39.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 111. Most Confidential.)

Constantinople, April 5, 1851.

My Lord,

AFTER exhausting all other means of persuasion, and successfully encouraging the French Minister to make representations similar to mine at the Porte, in favour of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, I availed myself of your Lordship's latest instruction on that subject to make a direct application to the Sultan himself. This step was the more necessary, as the Council's decision, favourable to our view in all respects but that of making a fresh reference to Vienna, was in His Majesty's hands, and the Ottoman Secretary of State made use of that circumstance to excuse a delay so unusually prolonged. I have this

moment received from Aali Pasha the Turkish memorandum, of which a translation in French by his Excellency is inclosed herewith. The original is drawn up in the Sultan's own writing, and a private message was sent from the Seraglio this morning to inform me of it.

The case is not hopeless, but the difficulty appears to be even greater than I had anticipated; and whatever may come of my discussions with the Grand Vizier, I think it advisable to send the Sultan's remarks in strict confidence to your Lordship, who will learn therefrom the true nature of the difficulty with which I have to contend on this occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Sultan's Memorandum respecting the Hungarian Refugees.

LES observations présentées par les Ambassades d'Angleterre et de France et l'opinion du Conseil des Ministres sur la mise en liberté un moment plus tôt de ceux des réfugiés que le Gouvernement Autrichien désire laisser à Kutahia sont complètement conformes à la règle de l'humanité.

Tout le monde sait que cette règle est sacrée et très importante auprès de Sa Majesté Impériale; que l'assistance et l'appui qu'on a vus de la part du Gouvernement Français et surtout de la part de la Grande Bretagne dans le commencement de cette affaire, sont toujours appréciés par elle; et qu'en conséquence notre Auguste Maître souhaite cordialement l'accomplissement de leur désir.

Mais les hommes dont l'Autriche met en avant la rétention sont les plus connus de ceux qui ont pris part aux événemens de Hongrie, et entre autres M. Kossuth, qui a prétendu presqu'à l'autorité suprême, doit naturellement avoir pour adversaire Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche lui-même.

Or, tel étant le cas, et l'expédition de ces Messieurs en Europe, contrairement aux vœux de l'autre partie, ne pouvant qu'affecter beaucoup ce Monarque, on aura non seulement manqué aux devoirs sacrés qui doivent naturellement exister entre Souverains, mais l'Autriche suscitera de grandes difficultés dans la question des limites de Bosnie, de l'Herzegovine, et dans l'affaire des ports de Kelee et de Suterina, questions qui sont litigieuses entre les deux empires et dont on négocie l'arrangement.

Outre cela, on peut créer par des excitations, des embarras dans la Province de Widdin, dont la tranquillité est à peine rétablie, et dans la Bosnie, dont l'organisation n'est pas encore achevée.

Ces considérations sont propres à inspirer de l'inquiétude, et qu'il est tout naturel que la Sublime Porte regarde aussi à ce qui concerne ses intérêts et sa tranquillité. Les Ambassades d'Angleterre et de France offriront-elles des assurances et des engagemens solides que cette affaire des réfugiés n'ira pas au point de gâter les relations de la Sublime Porte avec l'Autriche, et que les inconvéniens ci-dessus exposés n'en résulteront pas?

Sa Majesté Impériale pense que ce point doit être d'abord éclairé, et surtout comme Mr. Canning désire véritablement le bien de l'Empire, on doit le consulter confidentiellement sur toutes les parties de cet objet.

Et la décision d'après laquelle on ne devra accorder à l'égard de ces hommes qui resteront en arrière que le tems nécessaire à l'arrivée de la réponse à la note qui sera adressée, pouvant être considérée comme étant un peu trop pressante pour l'Autriche, Sa Majesté Impériale pense aussi qu'il serait plus convenable d'allonger au moins un peu ce terme, et que pour ne donner au Gouvernement Autrichien aucune cause de plainte, de lui déclarer qu'on retiendra ces hommes sur le sol Ottoman jusqu'au mois de Novembre prochain, et qu'on ne pourra point aller au delà.

Sa Majesté Impériale ordonne de consulter sur ce point aussi M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et de lui en rapporter le résultat après qu'il aura été de nouveau délibéré et approfondi dans le Conseil.

No. 40.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 118. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 17, 1851.*

IT is still out of my power to announce the liberation of the Hungarian refugees detained at Kutahia. The Sultan appears to have taken the question into his hands. The confidential memorandum which I forwarded to your Lordship by the last messenger exhibits His Majesty's ideas upon the subject. Personal consideration for the Emperor of Austria, and apprehensions of inconvenience with respect to some pending interests, are the apparent motives of his tenacity. I sent in my reply to the memorandum several days ago, and a copy of it is herewith inclosed for your Lordship's information. No further communication has been made to me either from the Porte or from the Seraglio. General Aupick, who called here yesterday, informed me that he had exhausted all his means of persuasion to obtain the release of the refugees, and that he had written to apprize his Government of the resolution apparently taken to continue their detention till the approach of winter. He was evidently acquainted with the arguments employed in the Sultan's memorandum, though I do not think he had seen the paper itself; and the information which he has conveyed to his Government appears to be rather an inference from the language of the Turkish Ministers than the result of a distinct official communication. He attributed our want of success principally to a note given in by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, who, according to his account, had stated that the liberation of Kossuth under present circumstances would be taken at Vienna as a personal insult to the Emperor. Whether such a note has or has not been presented, there can be no doubt that all the energies of the Austrian Legation are exerted to defeat our representations in the cause of honour, justice, and humanity. I will not, however, despair until the Sultan directs his final decision to be conveyed to me, which, taken at the worst, would after all be only a postponement of six months.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Observations of Sir Stratford Canning on the Sultan's Memorandum.

APRES avoir mûrement réfléchi sur les motifs qui pourraient encore faire retarder la mise en liberté des réfugiés que la Cour d'Autriche désire laisser à Kutahia, je soumets mon opinion avec toute la sincérité que m'impose la confiance dont le Sultan a daigné m'honorer.

Il serait aussi injuste que peu convenable de passer légèrement sur de pareilles considérations, qui méritent, au contraire, d'être pesées avec soin, dans l'intérêt de l'Empire. Opposées, pourtant, à ces considérations, s'en trouvent d'autres qui ne sont pas d'une moindre importance, et l'appréciation desquelles est indispensable pour arriver à une juste conclusion.

Sa Majesté Impériale a rendu justice d'elle-même aux motifs d'humanité et de reconnaissance qui engagent la Porte à suivre dans cette occasion les conseils de ses meilleurs amis. Un cœur fécond en mouvemens généreux a d'abord apprécié leur convenance par rapport au passé; un esprit clairvoyant a dû se pénétrer facilement de leur portée relativement à l'avenir.

Les points qui ont été signalés comme devant justifier une certaine hésitation ne sont qu'au nombre de trois.

Le premier regarde l'inquiétude avec laquelle Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche pourrait envisager la libération de M. Kossuth.

Le second se rapporte aux négociations qui s'entament entre la Turquie et l'Autriche, dans la vue d'arranger quelques différends relatifs aux frontières de la Bosnie et de l'Herzegovine.

Le troisième se base sur l'appréhension de fournir à l'Autriche un motif pour susciter des troubles dans la Bulgarie.

On ne saurait mettre en doute les égards qui sont mutuellement convenables entre deux Monarques amis et indépendans; mais il est à désirer que ces complaisances personnelles soient limitées à leur propre sphère. Dès qu'elles en sortent et surtout quand elles enfreignent les limites de l'honneur et de la justice, elles imposent à celui qui les fait un sacrifice d'autant plus sensible qu'il surpasse infiniment l'avantage qu'elles offrent au parti qui en est l'objet. Or, la justice défend à la Porte de punir sans nécessité des étrangers qui ne lui ont jamais fait de mal et qui ne relèvent nullement de son autorité. L'honneur lui fait une loi de ne pas servir la vengeance ou les craintes d'une Puissance étrangère, en dépit de ses propres convictions et aux dépens des malheureux qui se sont confiés à sa protection. La justice et l'honneur s'opposent également à ce que la libération des réfugiés, dont la seule condition était le rétablissement de la tranquillité en Hongrie, soit reculée, après que cette condition a été entièrement remplie.

Pour ce qui regarde les négociations, il faut supposer que la Porte ne cherche que ce qu'elle croit lui appartenir de bon droit, et dans ce cas elle devrait plutôt s'appliquer à en fournir des preuves suffisantes, qu'atténuer la force de ses prétentions par un acte de déférence qui n'a rien de commun avec elles, et qui pourrait bien être prise pour un aveu de leur faiblesse.

Quant à la dernière considération, il est permis d'espérer que le Cabinet de Vienne sait assez respecter le Droit des Gens et les obligations des traités, pour ne pas se livrer à des mouvemens de dépit qui pourraient entraîner des conséquences fâcheuses, si, malgré les principes généralement reconnus, il cherchait à susciter des troubles parmi les habitans de la Bulgarie, ou même à empiéter sur les véritables limites, soit de la Bosnie, soit de l'Herzegovine; les moyens de tenir tête contre de tels emportemens ne manqueraient pas aux Ministres Ottomans. Il est de plus à prévoir que les sympathies de l'Europe et surtout de l'Angleterre ne resteraient pas insensibles aux réclamations du parti justement inquiété, et qu'elles se déclareraient en proportion de la gravité des circonstances et de la fermeté déployée par la Porte. Je crois devoir m'arrêter à ces considérations, qui s'appliquent exclusivement aux points ci-dessus énoncés. Pour ce qu'il y a de plus à l'appui de l'acte de éminence et de justice réclamé à tant de titres, je m'en rapporte aux communications que j'ai adressées antérieurement à la Porte.

No. 41.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 119.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 17, 1851.*

THE American Chargé d'Affaires has informed me that he is instructed by the President of the United States to offer the Hungarian refugees a passage to America in one of the sailing-vessels belonging to their Mediterranean squadron. He has communicated this offer, as he informs me, to Auli Pasha, but he does not appear to know whether M. Kossuth and his companions would be inclined to avail themselves of it, if they were at liberty to do so. Accepted by them and understood to mean a *bond-fide* voyage to the United States, this offer ought to diminish very considerably the Sultan's objections to their immediate liberation.

Unfortunately, the difficulty of removing these objections, however misplaced they may be, is increased by an occasional want of discretion on the part of M. Kossuth and his more immediate adherents. The agents of Austria are no doubt ready to turn the slightest movements of impatience and the most natural endeavour to communicate with distant friends into a plan for renewing the distractions of Europe; but I fear at the same time, if the private information which has reached me be correct, that emissaries from Mazzini have found their way to Kutahia, and afforded materials of suspicion to the spies of Austria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 42.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 117.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 12, 1851.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the very able memorandum which you have sent in to the Porte, respecting the continued detention of the Hungarian refugees, and a copy of which is inclosed in your despatch No. 118 of the 17th of April.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 43.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 135.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 25, 1851.

AFTER waiting several days for the Sultan's decision respecting the refugees at Kutahia, I sent three days ago confidentially to the Seraglio, expressing a hope that His Majesty had been satisfied with my reply to the reflections which he had done me the honour to communicate, and requesting to be made acquainted with His Majesty's final determination.

The Sultan, after receiving my message, commanded the bearer of it to return on the following day, and the answer which he then had the goodness to send me, after conferring with the Grand Vizier, was that his decision would be conveyed immediately to the Porte, and that he hoped I should be satisfied with its purport.

On referring to the Porte I learnt that the Sultan had determined to release the whole of the refugees on the 1st day of September next, and that his decision to that effect would be forthwith communicated by means of an official note to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires.

It would undoubtedly have been more satisfactory to my feelings, and more creditable to the Turkish Government, if an earlier period had been assigned for the liberation of M. Kossuth and his companions in misfortune; but I trust nevertheless, that your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the Sultan's delicate position with respect to the Court of Vienna, and find in the express engagement now contracted by His Majesty a sufficient compensation for the four summer months during which the detention of the refugees is still to be continued.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 44.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 139.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 30, 1851.

THE Porte's official note in answer to that presented in February by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, requiring a further indefinite detention of the most distinguished of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, was at length sent in to M. de Kiezl a few days ago. I have already apprized your Lordship of the decision which it contains; and having received a copy of it from Aali Pasha, I have now the honour to inclose it herewith in translation, for the more complete information of Her Majesty's Government.

Knowing the humane interest which the people and Government of the United Kingdom never cease to take in the fate of these unfortunate exiles, and

feeling how deeply the Sultan's honour and the prospects of his empire are connected with the Porte's conduct towards them, I cannot but anticipate your Lordship's disappointment on learning that they are still to be detained to the 1st of September, out of mere deference to the Cabinet of Vienna. The just dissatisfaction occasioned by this unnecessary act of rigour must, I fear, be aggravated by a sense of the little effect which my repeated and urgent representations appear to have produced on the Turkish Government, notwithstanding their knowledge of your Lordship's sentiments, the co-operation of the French Minister, and the seasonable offer made to them by the American Chargé d'Affaires. It is matter of lasting regret that the circumstances of the case did not authorize me to demand as a right that measure of justice and humanity which I solicited vainly on grounds even stronger in a moral and political point of view than those of right. My only consolations are that the four remaining months of the term of detention belong to a season which mitigates the privations of Kutahia, and that the Porte has now expressly and formally pledged itself to the liberation of all the refugees on a fixed day, irrespective of intervening contingencies or the consent of any other party; that day at the very latest being the 1st of September next (N.S.).

It is possible that the Austrian Government, now that every prospect and chance is lost of protracting still further the detention of the refugees, might be persuaded to consult its own credit by assenting generously to an earlier day of liberation; and I am convinced that the slenderest ground of hope in that respect would be sure to have the advantage of your Lordship's attention and friendly offices.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 44.

Aali Pasha to M. de Kiezl.

Le 26 *Avril*, 1851.

(Traduction.)

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre note en date du 9 Février dernier (N.S.), portant que la Cour Impériale a donnée son adhésion au départ pour des pays étrangers de quelques-uns des réfugiés qui se trouvent à Kutahia.

La Cour Impériale a vu elle-même, et elle connait parfaitement toutes les peines que la Sublime Porte s'est donnée, et toute la responsabilité qu'elle a assumée jusqu'à présent, à l'effet de garder convenablement les réfugiés en question, voulant donner par là une preuve réelle et solennelle de sa bonne foi et de sa constance à remplir ses engagemens, et de ses efforts incessans à augmenter et à resserrer de plus en plus les liens de l'amitié et les rapports de bon voisinage qui existent entre elle et l'Autriche.

Mais, comme vous le savez fort bien, M. le Chargé d'Affaires, lorsque cette question a été traitée, il y a eu des raisons qui ont obligé la Sublime Porte à ne pas consentir à ce que le terme qu'on avait imaginé d'établir pour le séjour des réfugiés à Kutahia dépassât un an; et il a été convenu de part et d'autre, comme dernier terme, que lorsque la tranquillité aura été rétablie en Hongrie, on donnera la liberté aux réfugiés; mais seulement, qu'avant de les relâcher, on en donnera avis à la Cour d'Autriche, et l'on tâchera de se procurer son adhésion.

En insistant alors sur ce que le rétablissement de la tranquillité fût l'époque de la mise en liberté des réfugiés, le motif pour la Porte d'y insister était le désir d'éviter les difficultés de toutes espèces inhérentes à la garde des réfugiés; et si la Sublime Porte a adopté temporairement la mesure d'éloigner des frontières et de garder les individus dont il s'agit, c'était parce qu'elle jugeait cette mesure comme étant alors évidemment et réellement nécessaire à l'Autriche, sauf à les mettre en liberté dès que leur détention ne serait plus vraiment nécessaire; et cela afin de se débarrasser d'un lourd fardeau; car le Gouvernement Ottoman prévoyait d'avance que tant que les réfugiés se trouvaient dans les Etats de Sa Hautesse, et sous la responsabilité de la Sublime Porte, ils feraient naître des discussions et donneraient lieu à des propos et à des soupçons capables de porter atteinte à cette étroite amitié qu'elle veut, comme il a été dit plus haut, resserrer encore davantage.

En effet, l'expérience a fait voir plus tard, et confirmer les inconvéniens et les difficultés que la Sublime Porte a prévus dès le principe.

Dieu soit loué, la tranquillité peut être considéré comme rétablie en Hongrie depuis quelque temps déjà, et, par conséquent, la nécessité dont on a parlé plus haut a cessé d'exister; et c'est pourquoi cet état de choses a été plusieurs fois représenté aux Ministres de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, et par l'intermédiaire de l'Ambassadeur Ottoman à Vienne, et par votre canal; on a déclaré au Cabinet de Vienne que le temps de faire partir des Etats de Sa Hautesse les réfugiés qui se trouvaient à Kutahia était enfin venu; et l'on a fait tout ce qu'on a pu pour obtenir son adhésion à leur départ, mais on n'a pas pu avoir une réponse favorable de la part du Gouvernement Autrichien. Or, la Sublime Porte a complètement rempli l'engagement qu'elle avait contracté. Il est clair qu'il ne reste plus rien qui lui lie les mains dans cette question, et la gêne de sa position est notoire et patente.

Guidée, cependant, par cette déférence toute particulière qu'elle a, et par l'amitié sincère qu'elle professe pour la Cour Impériale, et pleine de confiance dans la loyauté et dans la justice du Cabinet Autrichien, la Sublime Porte s'abstient de mettre immédiatement à exécution une mesure qu'elle a le droit d'exécuter; et elle prie encore une fois instamment et franchement la Cour Impériale de consentir à l'envoi collectivement et sans exception de tous les réfugiés à des pays étrangers, afin qu'elle extirpe ainsi le germe des complications et des contestations que les évènemens ont planté dans le champ de l'amitié des deux Gouvernemens, contre leur gré. La Sublime Porte a en même temps jugé à propos de faire partir pour des pays étrangers, à condition de ne pas retourner en Turquie, les individus nommés dans la liste qui accompagne votre note susdite, à l'exception de ceux, s'il y en a, parmi eux, qui voudraient demeurer à Kutahia avec leurs compagnons qui doivent rester en arrière; et de faire partir le premier du mois de Septembre prochain, N. S., pour des pays étrangers, comme les autres, ceux qui restent en arrière.

Comme il n'y a pas de doute que cette nouvelle preuve d'une amitié sincère, et que les explications données sur les inconvéniens et les difficultés ci-dessus signalés seront bien accueillies et appréciées par la Cour d'Autriche, je vous fais la présente communication par ordre de Sa Majesté le Sultan, et je saisis cette occasion, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

No. 45.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 130.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 24, 1851.*

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that if the engagement of the Porte for the release of the remainder of the Hungarians on the 1st of September next, reported in your despatch No. 135, of the 25th ultimo, shall be faithfully kept, although it falls short of what is due to the dignity and independence of the Sultan, and does not answer to the just expectations of the British Government and Nation, yet nevertheless it may be accepted as a compromise.

It seems that the Government of the United States has offered to the Sultan an American ship of war to convey these exiles to the United States, but it is understood that they are unwilling to go to America. But if the execution of the Sultan's announced intention of setting these exiles free, would be rendered more easy by the offer of a British steamer to convey the Hungarians from their place of embarkation in Turkey to Malta, there to meet the regular packet by which they would go on elsewhere, your Excellency is authorized to make that offer to the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 46.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 135.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 27, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a resolution passed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, respecting the continued detention of Kossuth and his companions at Kutahia; and I have to instruct you to communicate this resolution to the Turkish Government as an evidence of the public feeling of the British Nation on this matter.

I add a copy of the answer which I have returned to the communication of this resolution made to me on behalf of the Common Council.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

The Court of Common Council to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord, *Guildhall, May 23, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour by direction of the Common Council of the City of London to transmit to your Lordship the inclosed copy of a Resolution carried yesterday unanimously by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ALWORTH MEREWETHER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

Resolution of the Court of Common Council.

Musgrove, Mayor.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday, the 22nd day of May, 1851.

Resolved unanimously,

THAT this Court feels deep sympathy with Kossuth and his companions detained prisoners in the Fortress of Kutahia, and earnestly hopes that Lord Palmerston may deem it consistent with his duty to interpose his friendly offices with the Government of the Sublime Porte to promote the liberation of the illustrious captives.

(Signed) MEREWETHER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 46.

Mr. Addington to Mr. Serjeant Merewether.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 27, 1851.*

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant, inclosing a copy of a Resolution passed on the previous day, by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, expressing their deep sympathy with Kossuth and his companions detained prisoners in the Fortress of Kutahia, and their earnest hope that Lord Palmerston may deem it consistent with his duty to interpose his friendly offices with the Government of the Sublime Porte to promote the liberation of the illustrious captives.

Viscount Palmerston directs me to request that you will acquaint the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, that Her Majesty's Government have been using and are continuing to use their good offices with the Turkish Government to obtain the release of these Hungarians from their present captivity in Turkey: and Her Majesty's Government trust that their endeavours may before long lead to a favourable result.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

No. 47.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 175.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 17, 1851.*

SUCH of the refugees at Kutahia as the Austrian Government has allowed to be released, and as were willing to avail themselves of the permission, are now on the way from their place of detention to the Dardanelles, where they will be transferred from the Turkish Government steamer, lately sent for them, to an English commercial vessel of the same kind. A certain number of Hungarians who separated themselves from the Polish detachment which embarked for the same destination some time ago, now take their passage with the refugees from Kutahia. A few Italians are I believe added to the number, which in its total, amounts to upwards of one hundred.

These unfortunate exiles are provided by the Turkish Government with little more than a bare sufficiency for defraying the expenses of their voyage to a British port; and the first intention was to embark by compulsion a number of Italian emigrants in the same steam-vessel with them.

Informed of these plans, I called upon the Porte either to send the emigrants direct to the United States of America, where they were sure to be well received and where they would arrive with some part of their allowance in hand, or to grant them an additional allowance, sufficient for pursuing their voyage thither from England. I also objected most peremptorily to the shipment of any portion of them for England by compulsory means.

My efforts on the latter point were completely successful; and those refugees who had been detained by order of the police were dismissed on an understanding that they would gradually leave the country as occasions offered. All that I could obtain on the former point was a very slight addition to the pecuniary allowance already assigned to them. Fuad Effendi pleaded the present state of the Turkish Treasury and the great expense which had been already incurred on behalf of the refugees.

Under these circumstances I could only abstain from taking any part in the intended measure of embarkation. I have no authority to close the shores of England against any individuals so strongly recommended to compassion by their condition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 48.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 183.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 24, 1851.*

I HAD scarcely written my last despatch to your Lordship on the subject of the refugees, when I received information from Count Koscielski, who is allowed by the Porte to act in behalf of the Polish part of them, to the effect that the Poles who had arrived from Kutahia at a small port in the Gulf of Mondania, called Ghemlik, had refused to embark in the steam-vessel prepared for them by the Turkish Government. It appeared from his statement that they complained of having been deceived by the Turkish Commissioner at

Kutahia, and that they were unwilling to embark without having some clearer notice of their place of destination, and probable reception there. They had endeavoured to obtain explanation on these points from Aali Pasha, who is still at the Baths of Brussa.

His Excellency's answer having represented me as being a party to the arrangement under which they were to proceed, in the first instance at least, to England, I thought it necessary to have a full explanation on the subject with Fuad Effendi, and I availed myself of the opportunity to recommend afresh the interests of these unfortunate exiles to the favourable consideration of the Porte.

The manner in which I carried out these purposes, and the result attending my representations, may be best conveyed to your Lordship's knowledge by a communication of my instructions to the interpreter employed on the occasion, and of his reports in answer to them. These papers are inclosed herewith for your Lordship's information; and I have only to add for the present, that Count Koscielski has communicated, as I am informed by him, the Porte's definitive instructions to such of his countrymen as were waiting to know them at Ghemlik.

Although I have not felt myself at liberty to take a more decided part with respect to their proposed embarkation for England, I hope that your Lordship, in the event of their arriving there, will kindly obtain for them such countenance and assistance from Her Majesty's Government as their unmerited misfortunes recommend, and their truly disastrous situation appears to require.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. S. Pisani.

Pera, May 20, 1851.

Sir,

IT is become necessary for me to have a clear explanation with Fuad Effendi on the subject of the refugees, whether Polish, Hungarian, or Italian, who are now leaving this country for England or other foreign countries, in virtue of the Porte's arrangements.

I am informed that of those individuals, in number about fifty, who have recently left Kutahia with the consent of the Austrian Government, about twenty, principally or entirely Poles, have refused to embark at Ghemlik, their late companions in misfortune having availed themselves of the steam-vessel sent thither by the Porte for their conveyance to the Dardanelles. It appears that the recusants complain of having been deceived by Suleiman Bey, the Porte's Commissioner at Kutahia, and on that account justify their refusal to embark without greater certainty as to their place of destination and means of subsistence. It further appears that ineffectual efforts have been made to regain their confidence, by stating that I am a party to the arrangement made for their conveyance to England, and that I have vouched for their hospitable reception there.

Now the facts of the case, in so far as I am concerned, are these. Early in this month, it was made known to me by a message from Aali Pasha, that about fifty Hungarians desirous of going away were to be sent to meet the refugees expected from Kutahia at Ghemlik, and that the two parties united were to be subsequently conveyed in an English merchant-steamer to some port in England, whence they might go, some to France and some elsewhere. It was added that the Porte would defray the expenses of the voyage and nothing further.

In reply to this message I expressed neither assent nor objection, in so far as the embarkation was concerned. I stated, however, that I was not prepared to sanction the measure by any delivery of passports; and I recommended an increase of the proposed allowance for the conveyance of the refugees, so as to enable them to go, if necessary, to the United States of America, where they would be sure to meet with a welcome, and more facilities in gaining their livelihood.

It came to my knowledge at a later period that the police had caused a

number of refugees, principally Italians, to be arrested, with the intention of compelling them to embark with the others for England. I lost no time in remonstrating earnestly against this proceeding, and I sent word to Fuad Effendi that if the Porte would not relinquish it, I should deem it my duty to oppose its execution by all the means in my power.

The results of my remonstrance, as communicated to me through the regular channel, was that the Porte desisted from the prosecution of its compulsory plan, that the persons already in arrest were liberated, and that a small additional sum of 100 piastres each was assigned to the refugees from Kutahia and their voluntary companions in the approaching voyage.

Such is the correct account of what was stated to me, and of the part which I took in these transactions.

I could not with honour or propriety act differently. The shores of England, generally speaking, are open to all foreigners. Those who land there to remain are expected to have the means of living honestly, and to conform to the existing laws and local regulations. I have no instructions calculated to interfere with this general view of the subject, none which authorize me to give assurance to the refugees of assistance or even of hospitable reception in England.

Looking to the Porte, it is evident that on the one side she has the right of dismissing the refugees at pleasure from her territory, and that on the other hand she has incurred the obligation of providing a passage and subsistence for such of them as were originally detained here by her orders until they can reach another country prepared to receive them hospitably.

Circumstances have authorized me to recommend in earnest language a generous performance of this duty, and I have done so repeatedly. The attempt to use compulsion with respect to embarking refugees for England in English vessels gave me a stronger right, and I used it with success.

What remains for me to do regards more particularly the unfortunate Polish exiles who are waiting for the decision of their fate at Ghemlik. Having no assurances to give them, and no right to dictate to the Porte its course respecting them, I can only recommend their case to a liberal consideration, and promise, should the plan of embarking them for England be persisted in, to write on their behalf to Her Majesty's Government, without presuming to answer for the success of my representations. I shall not however hesitate to declare the painful impressions made upon my mind by the conduct of the Turkish Agent at Kutahia, and of the Porte's own conduct in allowing the emissaries of Austria to exercise any kind of immediate control over the refugees detained there.

You will wait, Sir, without delay on Fuad Effendi; you will make his Excellency fully acquainted with the contents of this instruction; and you will refer him to Count Koscielski for the details of the proceedings to which I have referred. Count Koscielski, as you know, has long acted by mutual acquiescence between the Turkish authorities and the Polish refugees on behalf of the latter, and it is from him that I have received information of the occurrences at Kutahia and Ghemlik.

Fuad Effendi will no doubt inform you of anything which in his view may appear to contradict my statements or impressions as recorded above, and I hope he will put you in possession of the Porte's intentions with respect to the refugees at Ghemlik, after taking into friendly and serious consideration the powerful motives which suggest themselves for treating them not only with continued forbearance but with kindness and indulgence, whether they be allowed to remain in this country or be embarked for some foreign place of destination.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

M. S. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Pera, May 20, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that I read to Fuad Effendi, word for word, your Excellency's instruction of this date, and am requested to state in reply, that nothing could be more correct than your statement of what took place between

your Excellency and the Porte concerning the refugees who were lately embarked or destined to be embarked for England, and those who refused to leave Ghemlik.

Fuad Effendi begs to say that the refugees have no right to complain of Suleiman Bey, the Porte's Commissioner at Kutahia, who did not allow them to pass through Brussa on their way to Ghemlik, as he acted in virtue of instructions from his superiors. And this was done with a view to avoid further annoyance and embarrassment to the authorities there. The main objection of the refugees at Ghemlik to embark on board the Turkish steamer which was sent thither to convey them to the Dardanelles with those who were taken at Constantinople, is, he said, that it was inconsistent with their dignity to mix with people inferior to them in rank.

The Porte, proceeded Fuad Effendi, cannot with propriety allow these refugees to remain in the country without incurring responsibility and being accused of inconsistency by the Austrians, to whom she declared that she could no longer allow herself to be made the gaoler of refugees; he therefore informed me that the Porte insists upon their being dismissed from the Turkish Territory. Although it was made known to these as well as to the other refugees, whether Polish, Hungarian, or Italian, that if they did not avail themselves of the departure of the last English steamer for Southampton, they would lose the advantage of a free passage, yet he assures me that an exception will be made in favour of the refugees still at Ghemlik, on account of their position; and besides, they will continue to receive their allowances as heretofore, until another opportunity offers to convey them either to England, France, or anywhere else they should like to proceed to, and the expenses of the voyage will also be provided for by the Turkish Government. But for the time they remain at Ghemlik they will as a matter of course be under the surveillance of the local police. His Excellency moreover acquainted me that some of these refugees intended applying to the Austrian Legation for amnesty. If this account be correct, the Porte will have no objection to allowing them to come to Constantinople on their way to their destination, provided their request be favourably received by the Austrians.

Fuad Effendi is to see Count Koscielski to-morrow morning and apprize him of the Porte's decision. The Count intends leaving for Ghemlik after his interview with that Minister; and a person from the Porte is also to accompany him thither and report the result of their proceedings.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STEPHEN PISANI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 48.

M. S. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Pera, May 21, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that Fuad Effendi told me for your Excellency's information, that Count Koscielski called on him this morning, and they have settled that those of the refugees who are inclined to apply for amnesty will remain at Ghemlik and wait for the answer of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires; and the rest are to go back to Kutahia, having expressed a wish to be allowed to return thither until some further arrangement can be made for their conveyance to some foreign country. Fuad Effendi assented to this, the more so as Ghemlik is an unwholesome place and might be injurious to their health.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ST. PISANI.

No. 49.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 148.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 11, 1851.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of your proceedings in regard to the Polish refugees who had arrived at Ghemlik from Kutahia, as reported in your despatch No. 183 of the 24th of May.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 50.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 150.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 12, 1851.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a memorial from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Leeds, praying that Her Majesty's Government will promptly and energetically use their influence with the Government of the Sublime Porte to procure the immediate liberation of Kossuth and his companions; and I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate this memorial as usual to the Turkish Government.

Your Excellency will at the same time say that this and similar memorials of which I have sent you copies, prove that it is not on light grounds that I have instructed you to state to the Turkish Government that the unjust detention of these Hungarians in Turkey is tending rapidly to destroy in the minds of the British Nation those feelings of sympathy for the Sultan which enabled Her Majesty's Government to afford to His Highness in the course of last year such useful and effectual support.

The noble and generous support which the British Nation gave to His Highness' Government when a British squadron was sent last year to assist the Sultan in asserting his independence in despite of the threats of the Austrian and Russian Ministers at Constantinople, was founded upon the belief that the Sultan, so assisted, would act in regard to the matters in question, with perfect independence, and that he would be swayed by no considerations except a due regard for his own dignity, a proper observance of the duties of hospitality, and a faithful attention to those promises of protection which were made by the Sultan's officer to the Hungarians at the time when those refugees entered the Turkish Territory. But the long detention to which these men have been subjected has grievously disappointed the just expectations of the British Nation; and the Turkish Government must not be surprised if the altered feelings of the British Nation should render Her Majesty's Government unable on any future occasion of similar need, to answer in a manner satisfactory to the Porte, any similar appeal which the Porte might have to make for the moral and material assistance of Great Britain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 50.

The Leeds Town Council to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord, *Town Clerk's Office, Leeds, May 30, 1851.*

IN pursuance of a resolution passed by the Council of this borough, at a meeting held yesterday, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a memorial from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of this borough, praying that

your Lordship will be pleased promptly and energetically to use your influence with the Government of the Sublime Porte, to procure the immediate liberation of the illustrious Kossuth and his companions, at present confined in the fortress of Kutahia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. WARDELL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Memorial from the Leeds Town Council.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Leeds, in the county of York, in Council assembled, on Thursday, the 29th day of May, 1851.

Humbly pray,

THAT your Lordship will be pleased promptly and energetically to use your influence with the Government of the Sublime Porte, to procure the immediate liberation of the illustrious Kossuth and his companions, at present confined in the fortress of Kutahia.

(Signed) GEORGE GOODMAN, *Mayor.*

No. 51.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 192.)

My Lord, *Therapia, June 5, 1851.*

I INCLOSE herewith a paper which states the Porte's decision with respect to the Polish refugees at Ghemlik. The result of its communication to them is expressed in the accompanying copy of their address to the Sultan. The perusal of such unbounded expressions of gratitude and satisfaction makes it idle for me to continue my exertions on their behalf.

On the other hand, M. Kossuth and his remaining companions at Kutahia are highly dissatisfied with the treatment which they have latterly experienced. They are entitled, I think, to complain of the manner in which Austrian agents were permitted by the Porte to inspect their situation and to determine the fate of those who were to go or to stay.

I have not concealed my sentiments on this subject from the Grand Vizier. But the expressions of unqualified reprobation which I employed in declaring them afford but a poor satisfaction for the unnecessary vexations which have been imposed on the unfortunate exiles, and the shame which this Government and its leading Ministers have incurred by acting with so much indelicate and inconsistent subserviency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

The Turkish Commissioner to the Polish Refugees at Ghemlik.

Messieurs,

JE suis chargé par le Gouvernement Impérial de vous faire connaître que dans vingt jours d'ici il sera mis à votre disposition un bateau à vapeur, qui vous transportera aux Dardanelles, où vous devez vous embarquer sur un bateau à vapeur Anglais pour vous rendre en Angleterre. Vos frais de voyage jusque

là seront payés par le Gouvernement Impérial. Sa Majesté le Sultan vous fera gratification de certaines sommes pour vos menu dépenses. Je vous déclare en outre qu'il vous sera délivré des passeports Turcs pour ce pays.

Agréez, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

The Polish Refugees at Ghemlik to the Sultan.

Sire, *Ghemlik, 29 Mai*, 1851.

NOUS ne pouvons quitter le sol hospitalier de la Sublime Porte avant de poser à vos pieds l'expression de toute notre gratitude et de toute notre reconnaissance. Votre Majesté nous a accordé asile et protection; votre Majesté seule s'est opposée aux exigences de nos ennemis, qui demandaient notre extradition. C'est enfin à votre Majesté seule que nous sommes redevables pour notre liberté; car c'est sa volonté qui a fait cesser notre internement et a assuré la liberté dans quatre mois à nos compagnons d'infortune qui sont restés à Kiutahia. Agréez donc, Sire, notre plus profonde reconnaissance, agréez nos regrets de ne pouvoir prouver par les faits notre grand désir de vous servir. Mais Dieu est grand, et le moment viendra où les Polonais pourront prouver qu'il se souviennent du bien dont ils ont joui dans l'empire de votre Majesté.

(Signé) George Aulharga, *General.*
Yzekowski, *Colonel.*
Le Colonel Jules Przyiemski.
W. Tchornuki, *Colonel.*
Grachawemski, *Major.*
S. Korzelinski, *Major.*
Blessniski, *Major.*
Matczynski, *Major.*
Neviadomski, *Major.*
Zaborski, *Lieutenant.*
Hoszek Leonard, *Capitaine.*
Szczepauski, *Lieut.*
Bilunski.
Briganti.
Boboryski.
Zawadiski.
Chojecki Stanislaus.
Pomogewski, *Lieut.*

No. 52.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 158.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 24*, 1851.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the course which you have pursued, as reported in your despatch No. 175, of the 17th of May, in regard to the various refugees who either voluntarily or involuntarily were about to quit the Turkish Dominions.

With regard, however, to the statement made by Fuad Effendi, that the present state of the Turkish Treasury and the great expense which the Porte had already incurred on behalf of the refugees prevented the Turkish Government from providing more liberally than it has done for their wants during their voyage, and at their arrival at the place of their destination, I must observe that the Porte would have avoided a large portion of the expenses which it has incurred on account of these various refugees, if it had taken the advice of Her Majesty's Government in the outset, and had sent the refugees at once out of the Turkish Dominions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 204.)

My Lord, *Therapia, June 19*, 1851.

THE Porte has made arrangements with the agent of the Oriental Company for embarking about 150 Polish and Hungarian refugees in the "Euxine" steam-vessel, which starts this afternoon for England.

On this occasion, as on former ones of a similar description, I have not felt myself at liberty either to oppose, or to take any part in the Porte's proceedings. On the one side, I am unwilling to hazard the imposition of an unexpected burthen on any place where the unfortunate exiles may be landed; and on the other hand, I have neither authority to interdict their conveyance to England, nor inclination to obstruct the only path of relief which appears to remain unclosed to them.

I have at the same time exerted myself to obtain from the Porte a sufficient allowance for each of them to defray the expenses of a longer voyage, or to afford them some temporary means of subsistence after landing. I have endeavoured, in particular, to persuade Aali Pasha to embark them in a screw or sailing-vessel, and to apply any saving effected in the passage-money to their subsequent maintenance ashore. It was nevertheless determined that the whole batch should be shipped on board the "Euxine;" and I fear that the amount of their allowance will be expended during the voyage with the exception of two or three pounds for each individual.

What limited means of relief are at my disposal have been constantly applied to the diminution of immediate distress among the most needy; but their numbers and utter destitution present an almost insurmountable difficulty in the exercise of charity not authorized by official warrant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 54.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 205.)

My Lord, *Therapia, June 19*, 1851.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship that in reply to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, who lately expressed to Aali Pasha the high dissatisfaction of his Government on learning the Porte's intention of releasing on the 1st of September next M. Kossuth and the other refugees remaining at Kutahia, his Excellency declared that the Sultan's Government would infallibly redeem their pledge at the expiration of the appointed term, whether the Cabinet of Vienna assented to the measure or not.

The Pasha has also informed me that no restriction will be placed upon the refugees as to the place of their destination, when they are at liberty to leave the Turkish Dominions.

I shall be careful to bear in mind your Lordship's permission as to their embarkation for Malta, should the circumstances be such as to make it desirable for them to take advantage of that kindness.

I have communicated to the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha the resolution addressed to your Lordship by the Common Council of the City of London on behalf of the refugees. Their knowledge of the interest taken by that important assembly in the fate of M. Kossuth and his companions in exile cannot but strengthen their resolution to keep faith with the unfortunate objects of their protection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 55.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 209.)

My Lord, *Therapia, June 24, 1851.*

INCLOSED herewith for your Lordship's information, are two papers relating to the last batch of refugees embarked for England by means of an agreement between the Porte and the Oriental Steam Company's Agent. They went on board the Company's steamer "Euxine" on the 19th instant; and I have nothing to state in addition to the explanations afforded in my last despatch to your Lordship on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 55.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. S. Pisani.

Sir, *Therapia, June 19, 1851.*

I HAVE received your letter stating that arrangements have been made between the Porte and Mr. Hanson for the conveyance of the remaining Hungarian refugees to England in the Oriental Company's steam-ship "Euxine," in consequence of their inability to remain longer here.

You will lose no time in waiting on Aali Pasha and reminding his Excellency that I am no party to their embarkation under circumstances so different from what I had suggested, and requesting once more that he will relieve me by increasing the allowance for their passage, so far as to afford them the means of continuing their voyage to America or some other place of destination after touching in an English port. An addition of 500 piastres to each individual, would answer this purpose, and the whole amount of extra expense would not surpass the sum of a few hundred pounds—or the value of a Mushir's Nishan. I have already explained to Aali Pasha how unfair it is to take advantage of the boundless liberality of English law with respect to foreigners arriving in England, and how annoying it must be for Her Majesty's Government to be placed in the situation of either rejecting the exiles altogether; of burthening the place of their arrival with the expense of maintaining them; or of taking upon themselves a charge for which they are not prepared, and in the creation of which they have had no hand.

Individually I have done whatever was in my power for the relief of these unfortunate exiles, and I hope still to assist, according to my limited means, a few of those who are in the greatest state of need; but even if it were in my power, I should fear to offend the Porte by offering to share an expense which strictly belongs to her, and which after all must be trifling in the eyes of an Imperial Government.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 55.

M. S. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Pera, June 19, 1851.*

IN reply to your Excellency's instruction of this day's date, referring to the arrangements which have been made between the Porte and Mr. Hanson, for the conveyance of the remaining Hungarian emigrants to England by the Peninsular steamer to-day, I have the honour to report that Aali Pasha, to whom I read the whole of that instruction, states that as the circumstances under which the embarkation of these refugees takes place are totally different from what

your Excellency suggested, it is clearly understood that you are not, as a matter of course, engaged in any way to share the allowance for their passage.

But it must be borne in mind, continued Aali Pasha, that the 100 emigrants who leave this day for England on their way to the United States of America do not at all belong to the category of those who have been detained by the Porte; these are common soldiers, and most of them workmen, who stayed here of their own accord, and have no claim upon the Porte. What induced the Turkish Government to assist them in proceeding to their wished-for destination is this: they presented a memorial to the Porte entreating the Sultan to afford them the means of proceeding to England, where they had made up their minds to go. Their petition was submitted to His Majesty, who has been pleased to order that a free passage should be granted them, as also an allowance of 150 piastres to each. Consequently, Aali Pasha says, after this act of munificence and benevolence of the Sultan, and under the present financial embarrassments, he cannot take upon himself to return to the subject, and apply for a larger allowance. He assures me, however, that most of these refugees have got between 500 and 600 piastres of their own, which they have gained by their work during their stay here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ST. PISANI.

No. 56.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 141.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 29, 1851.*

THE departure of Count Rechberg, the recently appointed Internuncio at Constantinople, has been postponed; and I have reason to believe that he will not set out for his post before an answer has been received to an instruction which has been sent to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople on the subject of the release on the 1st of September of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, if indeed his departure be not dependent on the nature of that answer.

I have avoided making any allusion to the Hungarian refugees in my conversations with Prince Schwarzenberg; the mention of that subject is sure to irritate his Highness, and its solution can be more successfully pressed at Constantinople than here.

I have however alluded to it in conversation with Count Rechberg, assuming with him that the liberation of the refugees on the 1st of September was irrevocably decided on, and congratulating him that he would be spared its disagreeable discussion.

Count Rechberg never would admit that it was decided on, and said that this Government would insist on the Porte's fulfilling its engagements, and not releasing the Hungarian refugees "sans en convenir" with his Government.

It is unnecessary that I should repeat to your Lordship my reasons to prove that no such engagement existed on the part of the Porte; the Count persisted still that it did exist. He said, however, that the time was not distant when these refugees might be liberated without danger to Austria, and seemed to incline to the opinion that it would have been better had the Austrian Government never insisted on their detention; adding that a person like Kossuth could not, in his opinion, have any permanent success or weight in England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 57.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 233. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July 24, 1851.*

THE Austrian Government has addressed a fresh remonstrance to the Porte against its declared intention to liberate Kossuth on the 1st of September. The communication was made to Aali Pasha by M. de Klezl, who read to his Excellency a despatch which he had recently received upon the subject from Prince Schwarzenberg. Inclosed herewith in copy is M. Pisani's report of the Ottoman Minister's message to me. Your Lordship will observe that the Pasha's language is quite satisfactory, though it closes with a promise to take the opinion of the Council. This reference I conceive to be a mere formality; but not wishing to leave anything to chance, I drew up a short instruction to M. Pisani, and desired him to leave a copy of it with Aali Pasha. A copy of this paper is also inclosed herewith for your Lordship's information.

My own conviction is, that nothing short of some extraordinary and unexpected incident will shake the Sultan's resolution to abide by his promise, and this impression is confirmed by the private assurances of the Grand Vizier, as well to me as to the French Envoy.

I am happy to add that M. de Lavalette appears to be sincerely anxious to secure the liberation of all the Hungarian refugees from Kutahia at the appointed period, and I have reason to believe that he has held language on that subject to the Turkish Ministers essentially the same as mine.

In case of a necessity which is hardly to be anticipated, I should reckon with confidence on his Excellency's cordial co-operation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 57.

M. S. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Péra, 19 Juillet, 1851.*

J'AI l'honneur de rendre compte à votre Excellence d'une communication que le Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche a faite hier personnellement à Aali Pacha relativement à Kossuth. Je le tiens de la bouche même du Pacha.

M. Klezl a communiqué il y a quelque temps à son Excellence une dépêche du Prince Schwarzenberg; c'était une réponse à la note officielle par laquelle le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse annonçait sa résolution de mettre les réfugiés Hongrois en liberté au temps qu'il avait fixé. La dépêche portait en substance, que le Gouvernement Autrichien aussi désirait épargner à la Porte les embarras inhérens à la détention et à la garde des réfugiés; mais que le Cabinet d'Autriche seul devait juger de l'époque à laquelle les réfugiés dont il s'agit peuvent être relâchés sans aucun danger pour les Etats Autrichiens; époque qui, une fois arrivée, serait annoncée par la Cour de Vienne à la Porte. La réponse d'Aali Pacha a été, en résumé, que la Porte ne pouvait pas revenir sur la résolution qu'elle avait prise.

Dans l'entrevue d'hier, M. Klezl a lu à Aali Pacha une autre dépêche qu'il avait reçue par la dernière poste en réponse à son rapport sur le résultat de la communication à Aali Pacha de la première dépêche de Prince Schwarzenberg.

Par la même poste Aali Pacha a reçu d'Arif Effendi, Ambassadeur à Vienne, quelques détails sur le langage que le Prince Schwarzenberg lui a tenu après la réception du dit rapport. M. Klezl a tenu hier le même langage. Il a dit, comme observations de sa Cour, qu'ancienne amie, et voisine de l'Empire Ottoman, l'Autriche s'attendait à recevoir de la Porte le service qu'elle lui demande; que la tranquillité n'est point, comme la Porte prétend, rétablie en Hongrie; que l'Europe est actuellement dans une crise; que l'effervescence règne généralement; que partout les esprits sont très-mal disposés; qu'une seule démarche irréfléchie dans une affaire aussi sérieuse que celle dont il est question, a

souvent traîné à sa suite des conséquences fatales pour un Gouvernement; qu'il est vraiment étrange que lorsqu'il s'agit d'opter entre faire un plaisir à Kossuth en lui donnant la liberté et le laissant aller en Angleterre, et faire ce que la Cour d'Autriche demande comme un devoir de l'amitié, la Porte se décide pour la première alternative; que voulant remettre les relations des deux empires sur le même pied qu'auparavant, la Cour Impériale avait nommé dans ce but un nouvel Internonce, mais que son départ a été ajourné jusqu'à ce qu'elle apprenne quelle est la réponse de la Porte à la présente communication, afin qu'elle prenne en conséquence les mesures qu'elle aura jugées à propos. Enfin, M. Klezl a fortement recommandé à la Porte de réfléchir mûrement sur ce qu'elle va faire.

Aali Pacha, après avoir remercié le Gouvernement Autrichien pour les sentimens qui l'animaient en nommant un nouvel Internonce, a dit à M. Klezl, que la Porte a fidèlement rempli ses engagemens envers l'Autriche à l'égard des réfugiés; que la tranquillité est rétablie en Hongrie; que la Porte a fait des démarches nécessaires pour avoir l'adhésion du Gouvernement Autrichien; qu'attendre pour donner la liberté aux détenus, que les esprits en Europe s'améliorent, et que tout symptôme de convulsions politiques disparaisse, c'est vouloir renvoyer la solution de la question à une époque non seulement très incertaine, mais encore extrêmement éloignée; qu'il croit de son devoir de porter cette communication de M. le Chargé d'Affaires à la connaissance de ses collègues et du Sultan, mais qu'il ne peut absolument lui donner le moindre espoir d'une réponse favorable.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) F. PISANI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 57.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Sir, *Therapia, July 21, 1851.*

THE concern which I have experienced in learning from your report of Aali Pasha's communication regarding M. Kossuth's approaching enlargement with what unabated perseverance Prince Schwarzenberg opposes the Porte's determination in that respect, is only to be equalled by the satisfaction which I have derived from the terms of his Excellency's firm and equitable answer to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. It is true that the Sultan's word is too deeply engaged to admit of any other reply without a departure from that line of justice and honour which must ever regulate the policy of so enlightened a Sovereign. But the promptitude and clearness with which the Porte's responsible Minister has declared the existing obligation, and its entire coincidence with the antecedent course and lasting interests of the Turkish Government, cannot fail of being duly appreciated by those Powers which stood by the Porte in its hour of alarm, and helped it so effectively to vindicate the cause of humanity and national independence.

The Porte is aware that numerous petitions have been presented to Viscount Palmerston with the view of procuring the immediate liberation of M. Kossuth. Though it was my duty to mention this fact to Aali Pasha, and to convey to his knowledge the terms in which the Common Council of the British Metropolis had expressed its just expectation, I have confined myself to a partial intimation of the lively interest felt upon this subject throughout England, in perfect reliance on the humanity and declared intention of the Sultan's Government. With a confirmed persuasion of the Porte's sincerity, I stop here now, and have only to desire that you will leave a copy of this instruction confidentially in Aali Pasha's hands.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 58.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 213.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 14, 1851.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 233, of the 24th of July, respecting the fresh remonstrance which the Austrian Government has addressed to the Porte against the proposed liberation of the refugees at Kutahia, on the 1st of September next; and I have to instruct your Excellency to state to the Porte that Her Majesty's Government hold the Turkish Government bound by the declaration which it has made to Her Majesty's Government, and which Her Majesty's Government have stated to Parliament, that these Hungarian refugees should be released on the 1st of September.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 59.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 243.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 5, 1851.

THE Austrian Legation is pressing hard upon the Porte to prevent the liberation of Kossuth and his companions on the 1st of next month. M. de Klezl has given in a protest for that purpose. I continue to rely with perfect confidence on the good faith of the Sultan, and I think it best to proceed frankly on that principle, though, in fact, I have endeavoured to omit nothing which may keep the Porte steady to its promise.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 60.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 251.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 20, 1851.

I HAVE the greatest possible satisfaction in stating that the Porte holds good to its declared intention of liberating the refugees at Kutahia on the 1st of September next. The Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, acting under the instructions of his Court, has exerted himself to put its steadiness to the test. A copy of his official note, protesting against the intended measure, is forwarded herewith for your Lordship's information.

The Porte has replied, confirming its previous resolution, and M. de Klezl has rejoined to no purpose. Copies of this correspondence will be communicated to me in a day or two, and I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to forward them to your Lordship.

Russia has taken no part in support of the Austrian Cabinet on this occasion.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions I have offered to place one of Her Majesty's steam-vessels at the disposal of the Porte for the conveyance to Malta of such of the refugees as may choose to profit by the offer. The Porte embarrassed by a similar proposal from the United States of America, has written to ascertain the wishes of the exiles themselves, and I am waiting to learn their answer before I write to Sir William Parker on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 60.

M. de Klezl to Aali Pasha.

Buyukdéré, 29 *Juillet,* 1841.

LE Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche près la Sublime Porte Ottomane, s'est fait un devoir de s'acquitter envers son Altesse le Grand Vizir et son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, des ordres qu'il a reçus en dernier lieu du Cabinet Impérial, relativement à la prolongation de l'internement de Kossuth et de ses adhérens les plus dangereux à Kutahia. Ces Ministres ont dû se convaincre par la teneur des communications qu'il a été dans le cas de leur faire, de la haute importance que la Cour Impériale attache à cette question, et combien elle se considère en droit d'exiger de la Sublime Porte que la mesure de l'internement n'ait à cesser que d'un commun accord entre les deux Puissances.

Tant son Altesse Réchid Pacha que son Excellence Aali Pacha ont assuré au Soussigné que l'objet de la communication serait pris en considération par le Conseil des Ministres, et que le résultat des délibérations y relatives lui serait communiqué, après avoir été soumis à la sanction de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Qu'elle n'a pas donc dû être sa surprise en apprenant d'une source certaine, que M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères venait d'assurer au Chef d'une Légation, que Kossuth et ses compagnons seraient mis en liberté au mois de Septembre prochain; assurance qui détermine ce diplomate à prendre une mesure relative au voyage des internés.

Cet incident n'ayant pas été contredit, pour le fond, par son Excellence Aali Pacha, le Soussigné se voit dans l'impérieuse nécessité de redoubler d'efforts pour empêcher la Sublime Porte de mettre à exécution un dessein auquel, sans doute, elle n'a pas mûrement réfléchi, et qu'elle abandonnera, le Soussigné se plaît à l'espérer, quand elle aura pesé toutes les conséquences que son exécution devra entraîner.

Mais avant de s'appesantir sur ce grave sujet, il croit nécessaire de rappeler au Ministère Ottoman quelques circonstances dont l'appréciation est indispensable pour envisager la question sous son véritable point de vue.

Le Soussigné n'entrera pas dans un examen des faits qui ont précédé et accompagné la fuite des chefs de l'insurrection Hongroise sur le territoire Ottoman, bien qu'un semblable examen pût à lui-seul renfermer assez d'élémens de justification pour la demande formée aujourd'hui par le Gouvernement Impérial d'Autriche, et que la Sublime Porte devrait lui accorder sans hésitation.

Il juge pareillement superflu d'appuyer sur le sens et la portée de la stipulation des Traités en vigueur entre les deux Cours, et d'après laquelle les rebelles et les malfaiteurs, sujets de l'Autriche, qui voudraient se réfugier en Turquie, ne doivent pas y être reçus.

Sur la demande spéciale de Sa Majesté le Sultan, la Cour Impériale d'Autriche s'est désistée de son droit de demander l'extradition de ces réfugiés, quoique l'esprit des Traités l'y autorisât sans aucun doute; mais elle n'a pu qu'insister, à plus forte raison, sur les clauses subséquentes de l'Article XVIII du Traité de Belgrade, qui stipule: "Si ces rebelles pénétraient dans les Etats Ottomans, et s'y cachaient, la Sublime Porte devra les rechercher et les faire punir; enfin, quand même ces rebelles et malfaiteurs se montreraient répentans, et promettraient de s'amender, la Sublime Porte devra ne pas les en croire, mais les reléguer et les établir dans un endroit éloigné de la frontière."

Rien de plus clair et de plus précis que ces stipulations. Néanmoins, la Cour Impériale, toujours désireux de prouver les égards dont elle est animée envers la Sublime Porte, son ancienne amie et voisine, n'a pas voulu se prévaloir du droit incontestable qui en résulte, mais s'est montrée disposée à s'entendre avec le Divan sur un terme raisonnable à fixer pour l'internement des réfugiés.

Qu'a fait la Sublime Porte en retour d'un procédé aussi amical? Elle a opiniâtrement refusé de fixer un terme au delà d'une année, et a forcé ainsi la Cour Impériale à déclarer comme non-avenus les pourparlers qui avaient eu lieu sur la fixation d'une terme quelconque, et à reprendre simplement sa position sur les terrains des stipulations existantes qui ont été conclus antérieurement

entre les deux Etats, de la lettre autographe de Sa Majesté le Sultan à Sa Majesté l'Empereur en date du 26 Cheval, 1265 (17 Septembre, 1849), et des transactions qui à la même époque avaient eu lieu entre le Ministre Impérial des Affaires Etrangères et l'Envoyé Ottoman accrédité à Vienne, se réservant d'invoquer au besoin ces stipulations dans le sens strict et littéral de leur rédaction.

Tels sont les termes de la dépêche de son Altesse M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg, en date du 19 Mars, 1850, que le ci-devant Internonce, M. le Comte de Stürmer, a eu l'ordre de communiquer à son Excellence Aali Pacha.

La note même de la Sublime Porte, datée du 23 Djemazi-ul-evvel, 1266 (6 Avril, 1850), et qui sert de complément aux actes sus-mentionnés, que dit-elle? "Que la Sublime Porte, quand l'ordre sera raffermi en Hongrie, s'entendra amicalement avec la Cour Impériale, avant de mettre en liberté les individus en question, qu'elle lui fera connaître son intention à ce sujet, et tâchera d'obtenir son assentiment."

Il est évident, qu'après la promesse faite par Sa Majesté le Sultan lui-même, et la déclaration de l'Envoyé Ottoman, le sens de ces paroles ne pouvait être compris autrement par le Cabinet Impérial comme par quiconque les juge de bonne foi et avec impartialité, sinon que l'internement n'aura à cesser que d'un commun accord entre les deux Gouvernemens.

Le Soussigné a eu l'honneur à différentes reprises de s'expliquer envers les Ministres Ottomans sur ce point, de manière à ne laisser subsister aucun doute dans leur esprit, et son Altesse Rechid Pacha lui a assuré dans le courant de l'été dernier, "qu'il n'était pas dans l'intention de la Sublime Porte de mettre en liberté les réfugiés internés à Kutahia, sans l'assentiment du Cabinet Impérial."

Or, que se passe-t-il aujourd'hui? La Cour d'Autriche déclare que l'ordre en Hongrie n'est pas encore consolidé au point que l'élargissement de Kossuth puisse avoir lieu sans danger pour la paix publique dans ce royaume. Elle se reconnait à juste titre à elle-seule le droit de juger de l'état intérieur de ses provinces; mais elle assure encore une fois, que dès que le moment favorable sera venu, elle s'empressera de le faire connaître à la Sublime Porte, et ne s'opposera point à ce que la mesure de l'internement ait à cesser.

Cependant, la Sublime Porte en alléguant toutes sortes de prétextes, et en se basant sur une décision qui a été repoussée par le Cabinet Impérial ne veut tenir aucun compte des engagemens solennels qu'elle a contractés et des remonstrances si justes et si fondées qui lui sont faites, mais persiste dans son intention de donner la liberté à Kossuth et à ses plus dangereux adhérens, au moment même où Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche vient de donner à son auguste voisin un nouveau témoignage de son désir d'entretenir avec lui les meilleurs rapports d'amitié et de confiance, par la nomination de M. le Conseiller intime actuel, Comte de Rechberg, au poste d'Internonce à Constantinople.

Le Soussigné, par tous ces motifs, et voyant que la Sublime Porte est allée jusqu'à donner même, en quelque sorte, un commencement d'exécution à son projet de mettre en liberté les internés de Kutahia, doit formellement protester contre l'élargissement de Kossuth ou des autres individus désignés qui se trouvent internés en la dite ville, et renouvelle la déclaration qu'il a été dans le cas de remettre à la Sublime Porte le 27 Février dernier, à savoir: Que le départ de Kutahia de tout réfugié interné, sans le consentement préalable du Gouvernement Impérial d'Autriche, sera considéré par celui-ci comme une infraction de l'arrangement qui a été conclu au sujet de l'internement, et comme un fait de nature à porter la plus grave atteinte aux relations entre les deux pays.

La Sublime Porte ne pourra pas se dissimuler qu'en méconnaissant de la sorte ses obligations, et les principes d'une politique sage et prévoyante, en prouvant par un fait qui contrasterait si fort avec ses assurances, qu'elle a entièrement oublié tant de preuves de loyale amitié qui lui ont été données par la Cour Impériale, et qui remplissent nombreuses pages dans les annales de l'histoire, elle imposerait à cette Cour de pénibles nécessités résultant des doutes qu'elle devrait concevoir sur la sincérité de ses intentions; enfin, qu'une pareille conduite autoriserait pleinement la Cour Impériale à ne consulter, le cas échéant, que ses propres intérêts dans ses relations avec cet empire.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) ED. DE KLEZL.

No. 61.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 258.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 25, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith in copy a note addressed by Aali Pasha to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, in answer to his note respecting the release of the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, of which a copy has already been transmitted to your Lordship, and also a kind of protest sent in by M. de Klezl to the Porte, on receiving the Ottoman Minister's reply.

This further evidence of the Porte's resolution to redeem the pledge which it had previously given, and to act up to the principles declared in the commencement of the question, will I trust be received by Her Majesty's Government, and by your Lordship in particular, with sentiments of cordial though not perhaps of unmixed satisfaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 61.

Aali Pasha to M. de Klezl.

(Traduction.) 19 *Cheval*, 1267. (16 *Août*, 1851.)

SA Majesté le Sultan a pris pleine connaissance de vos communications verbales, ainsi que du sens de votre note officielle portant la date du 29 Juillet, par lesquelles vous représentez que l'illustre Cour Impériale ne peut accepter la résolution prise d'éloigner des Etats de Sa Hautesse, le 1er Septembre prochain (N.S.), les réfugiés Hongrois qui se trouvent à Kutahia.

L'édifice de l'amitié entre la Sublime Porte et la Cour d'Autriche se trouvant consolidé par plusieurs siècles, cette amitié est non-seulement tenue on ne peut plus en honneur par Sa Hautesse, mais à cause du voisinage, la Sublime Porte aussi n'a jamais, comme tout le monde sait, cessé d'apprécier l'avantage et l'importance de son maintien et de son accroissement, ni d'employer tous ses soins à obtenir cet heureux résultat. Il est par conséquent inutile de dire jusqu'à quel point elle a été peinée de la contrariété d'opinion qui a éclaté à l'égard d'une partie de cette question.

Je dirai seulement, que les Ministres de la Cour Impériale ayant reconnu, à plusieurs reprises et sans hésitation, les efforts francs et sincères que la Sublime Porte a fait jusqu'ici, efforts incontestables, pour garder les réfugiés dont il s'agit, cela aussi contribue à consoler la Sublime Porte, en pensant que vû leur constante équité, ils finiront par apprécier dûment le respect pour les traités et la droiture dont le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse a fait preuve dans cette occasion aussi, et qu'ils écarteront les soupçons, dénués de fondement, qu'ils semblent avoir conçus de la contrariété d'opinions qui, comme on l'a dit plus haut, a surgi de cette question; car le Gouvernement Ottoman a rempli complètement les engagemens qu'il a pris dans cette question, et à présent, grâce à Dieu, comme la nécessité de garder les réfugiés a cessé, on ne saurait sans injustice, donner à la résolution de les faire partir de ce pays-ci, le sens d'une infraction aux Traités.

Venons maintenant aux anciens Traités, et aux assurances contenues dans la lettre que le Sultan a adressée à Sa Majesté l'Empereur, et que vous citez dans votre note.

Comme on a déjà longuement discuté avec le Gouvernement Impérial la question de savoir jusqu'à quel point les Traités susmentionnés sont applicables à cette occasion exceptionnelle, et que la promesse de garder les réfugiés soigneusement et de manière à ce qu'ils ne pussent nuire au Gouvernement Autrichien, a été complètement remplie et exécutée, il n'est pas nécessaire de parler de nouveau sur cela dans la présente note.

L'acte principal relatif à cette question, et qui renferme les engagemens de la Sublime Porte, est la note officielle qu'elle a remise à l'Internonciature

Impériale sous la date du 23 Djemazi-ul-evvel, 1266 (7 Avril, 1850); or, la première des conditions que la susdite note aussi renfermait, était l'éloignement des réfugiés des Etats Ottomans, au retour de la tranquillité en Hongrie; seulement avant de mettre cette mesure à exécution, la Sublime Porte devait tâcher d'obtenir à cet égard l'adhésion de la Cour d'Autriche.

A présent, grâce à Dieu, ainsi qu'on vous l'a déjà dit, et de vive voix et par écrit, la tranquillité est depuis longtemps rétablie en Hongrie; les ordres et les défenses de l'Empereur sont obéis et exécutés en Hongrie, comme dans les autres parties de l'Empire d'Autriche. Et quand même il s'y trouverait des hommes animés d'intentions séditieuses, comme ceux-ci sont dans l'impuissance absolue de résister aux forces de l'autorité légitime, et qu'il est de toute impossibilité, en quelque temps, en quelque pays, et dans quelque Gouvernement que ce soit, de se défaire entièrement de pareils hommes animés d'un mauvais esprit, on ne peut pas dire que pour cela la tranquillité n'est pas rétablie.

Si la Sublime Porte croyait qu'il y a une véritable nécessité, c'est-à-dire, si elle prévoyait que le renvoi des réfugiés d'ici pourrait en quelque manière être préjudiciable à l'Autriche, elle n'aurait pas hésité à continuer pour peu de temps encore, d'avoir les embarras et la responsabilité de leur garde; et il n'y a pas de plus grande preuve de la vérité de cette assertion, que son offre spontanée, offre faite dans l'origine de cette question, de garder les réfugiés.

Lorsque des intrigues séditieuses des réfugiés pouvaient exercer une influence funeste dans la Hongrie, la Sublime Porte a jugé que c'était un devoir sacré pour elle, comme Puissance voisine, de les garder comme il fallait, et de les empêcher d'intriguer. Il est donc clair, qu'après le service loyal qu'elle a reçu, la Cour Impériale d'Autriche ne voudra pas laisser la Sublime Porte dans une position peu favorable à l'accomplissement de ce qui est et sera toujours, sincèrement et réellement, le premier des vœux des deux parties, savoir: celui de resserrer les liens de leurs relations; position gênante et hérissée de toutes sortes de difficultés.

Comme à son arrivée à Constantinople, le Ministre verra lui-même combien Sa Majesté le Sultan est satisfait des traits d'amitié dont l'Autriche a de tout temps fait preuve, et particulièrement de la nomination récente d'un nouvel Internonce, et qu'il comprendra que le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse n'a rien tant à cœur que de rendre encore plus intimes ses relations avec la Cour d'Autriche, il serait superflu d'entrer par anticipation en détail là-dessus.

En un mot, la résolution que la Sublime Porte a prise de faire partir les réfugiés de ses Etats, le 1er Septembre, provient uniquement de ce que leur détention ultérieure n'est en effet aucunement nécessaire; de ce que la Sublime Porte a rempli intégralement les engagemens qu'elle a pris dans un moment urgent; de ce que la Cour Impériale d'Autriche connait parfaitement les efforts que le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse a dû faire pour obtenir son adhésion; et de ce que la Sublime Porte désire franchement sortir au plus tôt des complications qui naissent consécutivement et naturellement de l'état actuel de ses relations avec la Cour d'Autriche. C'est pourquoi elle a le ferme espoir que, pesant de nouveau avec la balance de la justice la présente communication amicale, votre Cour conviendra de la justesse des motifs qui dispensent la Sublime Porte de revenir sur la résolution qu'elle a prise comme ci-dessus, et c'est ce que je m'empresse par ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale de vous faire savoir.

Je saisis, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 61.

M. de Klezl to Aali Pasha.

Buyukdéré, le 18 *Août*, 1851.

C'EST avec le plus vif regret que le Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche près la Sublime Porte Ottomane, a appris par la note officielle de son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Sultan, en date 19 Cheval (16 Août), que le Gouvernement Ottoman persiste à vouloir mettre en liberté Kossuth et les autres réfugiés Hongrois actuellement internés à Kutahia dès le 1er Septembre prochain, sans avoir égard aux raisons si concluantes qui déterminent le Gouvernement Impérial d'Autriche à demander la prolongation de leur internement.

Le Soussigné, tout en se faisant un devoir de transmettre la dite note au Cabinet Impérial, doit renouveler la protestation contenue dans la note qu'il a eu l'honneur d'adresser à son Excellence Aali Pacha le 29 du mois dernier, et rendre en même tems la Sublime Porte, au nom du Gouvernement Impérial d'Autriche, responsable de toutes les conséquences que l'élargissement des réfugiés en question, sans l'assentiment de la Cour Impériale, pourra entraîner.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) ED. DE KLEZL.

No. 62.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 232.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1851.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to express to the Porte the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the steadiness with which the Porte has adhered to its announced determination to release the refugees at Kutahia on the 1st of September.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 63.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 264.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 5, 1851.

THE Porte has redeemed its pledge with respect to the refugees at Kutahia. They left the place of their detention on the 1st instant. Count Casimir Batthyani is at Brussa. The Countess is here. Kossuth and his companions are on their way to the port of embarkation. At the Dardanelles they are to be received on board the American steam-frigate "Mississippi," which arrived here a few days ago with Mr. Marsh, the United States' Minister, and which is to go in the first instance to the Gulf of Spezzia, where it seems that the American squadron has either a depôt or a rendezvous.

The steamer which I placed at the disposal of the Porte for their conveyance to Malta has not been accepted. Count Batthyani, General Perczel, and two other officers have applied for a passage under Her Majesty's flag, the former to Malta, the others to England; but as the number of applicants is small, and the Admiral could ill spare a steamer from his squadron at this moment, I propose to offer those who would be content to go to Malta such accommodation as I can dispose of without detaching one of Her Majesty's steam-vessels on purpose.

It is unnecessary for me to assure your Lordship on this close of a most troublesome business, that I have endeavoured throughout to manifest as much attention and to afford as much relief to the unfortunate exiles from Hungary and Poland as the difficulties of the case and my very limited means would allow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 64.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 268.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 7, 1851.

FURTHER communications with Aali Pasha on the subject of the Hungarian refugees who were lately at Kutahia, establish that only one officer and his wife out of the whole party are in a condition to avail themselves of my

offer of a free passage under the British flag to Malta. General Perczel and his lady, who is expecting to be confined, are the persons to whom I allude. They are now at Brussa. The others will not be allowed to separate from each other while they remain in this country; and those who embark in the "Mississippi" with the hope of getting to England, will, as I am informed, have an opportunity of landing at Gibraltar. The Americans wished to receive Kossuth and his companions on board at Constantinople, but the Government has insisted on their transfer from one flag to the other being effected at the Dardanelles.

There is some appearance of a display on the part of the French as well as of the Americans in this concluding part of the drama.

The Turkish Ministers with their usual sagacity have brought this ostentation into contrast with the effective support afforded to the refugees throughout by Her Majesty's Government. It appears that M. Kossuth has it in contemplation to secure his reception in America, and subsequently to visit England a few months later. A misfortune common to the whole party has not had the effect of preventing some partial disunion in its ranks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 65.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 240.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1851.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 264, of the 5th instant, in which you report that the Hungarian refugees detained at Kutahia were liberated on the 1st of this month; and I have to instruct your Excellency to express to the Porte the sincere gratification of Her Majesty's Government at the termination of a state of things which was liable to such serious objections, and the continuance of which would necessarily have exposed the Porte to increasing embarrassments.

I have also to signify to your Excellency the approval of Her Majesty's Government of your successful exertions in assisting to bring about this result.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 272.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 10, 1851.

I RECEIVED last night a message from Aali Pasha to inform me that Kossuth and his companions had embarked for the Dardanelles, where the American steam-frigate "Mississippi" was in waiting for them. The only exceptions are Count Batthyani and General Perczel, who are detained at Brussa, the former by his own illness, the latter by his wife's.

I have received the strongest expressions of gratitude from the principal exiles and particularly from Kossuth.

I mention this circumstance here because the constant sympathy which I have shown to those unfortunate men on every proper occasion during their stay at Kutahia, originating as it did in feelings of humanity alone, is in perfect accordance with your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

End 31

No. 67.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 9.)

(No. 286.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 23, 1851.

I WAS informed on the 19th instant by Aali Pasha, that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires had sent to his Excellency a verbal and official message of the following purport:—

"Attendu que dans la question des réfugiés Hongrois, la Porte, manquant à ses engagemens, n'a agi qu'en consultant ses propres intérêts, la Cour d'Autriche de son côté aussi n'agira désormais qu'en consultant ses propres intérêts dans ses relations avec la Porte."

If this declaration is to be considered as Prince Schwarzenberg's final act on learning the Porte's unalterable determination to release the refugees without further reference to Vienna, the Turkish Government would seem to have little cause of apprehension, and such appears to be the impression entertained by its leading members.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 68.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 310.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 17, 1851.

I DIRECTED your Lordship's instruction respecting the satisfaction derived by Her Majesty's Government from the punctuality with which the Porte had executed its promise of liberating the Hungarian refugees at Kutahia, to be communicated *in extenso* to Aali Pasha. His Excellency replied that the Turkish Government partook, and more than partook, of the satisfaction expressed by your Lordship on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON